Periodical C

APRIL 21, 1945

# AMERICA

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# COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Death of the President. At 4:35 on the afternoon of April 12, at his cottage in Warm Springs, Georgia, whither he had gone for a desperately needed rest, in the third month of his fourth term, died Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the thirty-first President of the United States. Stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage, Mr. Roosevelt expired with a suddenness which shocked his fellow citizens and millions of nameless people the world over. He had led his country into war and seemed on the eve of leading it back to peace. The last news that reached him from Europe told of the victorious advance of our armies into the heart of Germany; the last dispatches from Admiral Nimitz in the Pacific told of American successes at the very doorstep of Japan. Death found him resting for his journey to San Francisco, where he was scheduled to welcome the delegates to the United Nations Conference. On this great project to assure peace for future generations, he had set his heart; he had dreamed that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter might become the firm basis of a better world than he knew. At the height of his powers, about to submit his dream to its supreme test, the President, as Mrs. Roosevelt cabled to her four soldier sons, "slept away." Truly, "he did his job to the end." However much some of his fellow citizens may have disagreed with his policies, no one can question his honesty of purpose, or his whole-hearted devotion to his native land. As surely as the soldiers who have fallen in the face of enemy fire, this great-souled man, their Commander-in-Chief, died for his country. May the almighty and merciful God grant to him life eternal. May He soften the sorrow of the dear ones left behind. And may He grant to us courage to make the departed President's dream of yesterday the reality of tomorrow.

The New President. Taking the oath of office at 7:09 p.m. in the Cabinet Room of the White House, a few hours after Mr. Roosevelt's death, Vice President Harry S. Truman became the thirty-second President of the United States, the seventh to succeed to that office by the death of his predecessor. The new President, who will be 61 years old on May 8, was born near Lamar, Missouri, and is the first President from that State. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1934 and re-elected in 1940. Comparatively inconspicuous during his first term, he became nationally known during his second as chairman of the Senate committee to investigate the war effort, popularly known as the Truman Committee. His committee made a notable contribution to the efficiency of the war machine and won the approval of both parties in the Senate. Elected Vice President in 1944, he now, by the death of President Roosevelt, succeeds to the formidable task of winding up the war and leading American policy in the peace. Our new President has shown himself a scrupulously honest, patient, persistent and indefatigable worker. He has never appeared enamored of his own abilities, and will doubtless pick his advisers wisely. The Presidency of the United States is one of those positions which confer growth and greatness upon a man capable of it. Mr. Truman may well be such a man. We join with every American in praying that God's wisdom may guide and sustain President Truman during the tremendously difficult years that lie before him.

Stating It Plainly. One of the greatest of all the questions to be discussed in San Francisco is that of the stand to be taken by the United Nations Charter on the matter of human rights. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals made already some provision for this matter in stating (Ch. IX, Sec. A, Par. 1) that the "Organization . . . should promote respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms," and in delegating the principal responsibility for the discharge of this function to the Economic and Social Council. But public opinion on the matter of human rights appears to be reaching more and more the conclusion that the same matter should be made explicit, not merely implied or taken for granted in the rest of the Charter as well. This is Senator Vandenberg's contention, with the apparent support of the rest of the American delegation. He would add to Chapter I of the Proposals: "To establish justice and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." The Committee on Human Rights of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace urges the formation of a Human Rights Commission, along with the following addition to Chapter II of the Proposals:

All members of the Organization, accepting as a matter of international concern the obligation "to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands," shall progressively secure for their inhabitants without discrimination such fundamental rights as freedom of religion, speech, assembly and communication, and to a fair trial under just laws.

There will be variations and modifications of such proposals, but the essential matter is that the Charter's stand for human rights should be taken squarely, and put in such language as cannot possibly be mistaken.

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Government Workers. On July 1, 1944, there were 3,112,965 civilians on the payroll of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, and this figure does not include employes of the War Department stationed outside our continental boundaries. Since this peak was reached, there has been, according to the latest report of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures, a slight but steady downward trend. By February of this year the figure had dipped to 3,042,485. There was, however, a sharp increase in the number of War Department employes stationed abroad, the exact figure being 429,173. Confronted with totals like these, some of our citizens, including several prominent newspaper publishers, are worried half to death and in their darker moments foresee the end of the Republic. While this enormous growth of the Federal bureaucracy is in all truth no laughing matter, there is no advantage in exaggerating the evil. No less than 1,627,942 of all the employes on the Federal payroll today are working for the United States Army, and another 771,541 are in the Navy Department. Three agencies born exclusively of the war-Office of Price Administration, Selective Service and War Manpower Commissionemploy almost 110,000 civilians, and thousands more are working for agencies devoted wholly or in part to aiding the war effort. When these facts are taken into account, the grand totals appear somewhat less ominous. The size of the Federal establishment in the postwar era will depend to a considerable extent on our success or failure in making a durable peace.

Russian Language in the Balkans. The tremendous encouragement given by Marshal Stalin to the newly formed Orthodox Church alignments in the Balkans has attracted considerable attention. It bears every mark of an attempt at a religious conquest of those countries, in the interests of Russian politics or Russian nationalism. Little, however, has been said about the consolidation of Russia's cultural influence, which appears to be quietly but effectively taking place behind the curtains in those same secluded lands. The New York Jewish journal Aufbau ("Reconstruction") for April 6 carries a story concerning the recent important All Slav Congress in Sofia, Bulgaria, where Soviet Russians, Yugloslavs, pro-Moscow Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Bulgarians took part. At this congress the head of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria, the Exarch Stephen I, proposed a resolution making the Russian language the obligatory language for intercourse and official purposes of all Slavs. The motion was carried "unanimously," in the pleasant way that Moscow-inspired motions usually are. Says Aufbau: "With this linguistic victory by the Russians the first step has been made toward an all-Slavic federation under the auspices of the Kremlin."

Czech Priests in Moscow. Equally scant notice, in comparison to the hubbub created over the famous Moscow visit of Father Orlemanski, has been given by the general press to the presence in the Soviet capital of two Catholic priests, Monsignor Hala, former secretary of the Catholic party of Czecho-Slovakia, and Monsignor Sramek, a member of the Czech Government-in-Exile. What Monsignor Hala was precisely engaged in during his visit is somewhat hard to divine, judging by some of the singular articles he has written for the Czech and the Russian press. But Monsignor Sramek is known as a silent and a patient man. He is not likely to make such a trip without the permission of his Bishop. With all the anomalies of his position as a Catholic prelate on friendly terms with the Soviets, he may yet be

able to accomplish a certain amount of good for the freedom of religion and the Catholic Church in the Czech and Slovak countries. There is plenty of material for the consideration of any Catholic occupying a diplomatic position in Moscow at the present moment. For the Slovak National Council, a pro-Soviet provisional government, has proclaimed the secularization of all Slovak schools; and the news is equally alarming (published first by Hussuv Lid, Czech Protestant monthly), that the Czecho-Slovak army now fighting along with Russia in Slovakia has no chaplains at all.

American Justice. Killing Hitler on sight is a sport, one might suspect, that would appeal strongly to most Americans. A distinguished British clergyman recently recommended it to the world. Yet, when the Inquiring Photographer of the New York Daily News asked people what they thought of the clergyman's suggestion, he elicited a unanimous condemnation. All who answered his question were convinced that Hitler deserved death for his crimes; but they all insisted that he should not be put to death without a fair trial. To deny him a trial would make him a martyr to future Nazi agitators, thought one. It would be a blot on America and the ideals for which we are fighting, said another. It would be lowering ourselves to Hitler's level; it would be a simple violation of basic American justice, and so on. This reaction from "the man in the street" is heartening. It shows that Americans can distinguish clearly between "softness" and justice. In the settlements to come we seem determined that the guilty shall be punished once their guilt is proved; that justice, not personal or even national vengeance, shall be our guiding principle in dealing with defeated nations. Towards those of lesser or doubtful guilt, it is obvious that mercy should temper justice.

"America" at San Francisco. To give its readers the advantage of a spot coverage of conference news, AMERICA is sending Father Robert Graham, S.J., one of its contributing editors, to San Francisco. To his experience as a member of the Research Section of the Institute of Social Order and several years of study of international peace in relation to Catholic principles, Father Graham adds an extensive and intimate knowledge of the physical circumstances of the conference, since San Francisco is his native city. Recently, in collaboration with Fathers William L. Lucey, S.J., and James L. Burke, S.J., Father Graham published a pamphlet, Hope For Peace at San Francisco?—described by reviewers as "a sure-footed guide through the mazes of Dumbarton Oaks." America is planning a weekly analysis of trends and developments at the San Francisco Conference.

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### THE NATION AT WAR

AS THESE LINES are written on April 10, the Allies seem likely soon to occupy the northern part of Germany, including Berlin. This is mostly flat open country, and hard for an inferior force to defend. There are rivers which may cause delays to the invasion forces, but river lines are not particularly good to fight on. Rarely can they be held against a superior enemy.

Berlin is a ruined shell. It has long ceased to be of use as a manufacturing center; the administrative offices moved

away some time ago.

Present indications are that the German High Command is not seriously contesting an Allied advance in the north. It is more concerned about holding the south, where the Allied advance is meeting considerable resistance. Germany has no illusions about winning the war. The only hope is to keep the war going in an expectation that the Russians will quit soon, or that the Allies will quarrel among themselves. The Russian people are war weary, and the Allies do not agree on all matters. They are aware of the danger of serious disagreements and are doing their best not to have any. It looks as if German hopes will be disappointed. The Allies are determined to finish the German campaign as rapidly as possible, and then turn to other problems.

While the Allies in the west are advancing in the north, the Russians on the east are advancing in the south. Their main effort is against Austria. Appeals have been made to the Austrians to desert the Germans and join with Russia in establishing an independent state. The same appeal had previously been broadcast for a year and a half, without notice-

able results.

In the Far East there has been severe fighting in Okinawa. The initial landing on April 1 was practically unopposed. Afterwards strong resistance was met with. Japanese air and naval forces have made determined efforts to relieve Okinawa. These have completely failed, with serious losses to Japan and only moderate losses for the Americans and British. For the first time since 1942 these two nations are engaged in a joint military expedition against Japan. The present one is a forerunner of major campaigns contemplated for the future.

Col. Conrad H. Lanza

### WASHINGTON FRONT

WHILE PUBLIC ATTENTION was firmly fixed on the collapse of the German army, the spectacular war in the Pacific, the preparations for San Francisco, Soviet Russia's diplomacy, and the war-manpower bills in Congress, the Supreme Court suddenly jumped back into the news. This time it was over rate-making cases on two successive Mondays in which, by 5-4 majorities, the august body seemed to

fly in the face of clear Congressional intentions.

The natural result has been to start all over again the talk about "Right-Wing" and "Left-Wing" in the Court. The Left-Wingers, of course, are Justices Black, Douglas, Murphy and Rutledge; and the Right Wingers are Chief Justice Stone, Justices Frankfurter, Reed, Jackson and Roberts. A recent article in the American Political Science Review, by Prof. C. Herman Pritchett of the University of Chicago, tabulated each Justice's record in 71 decisions involving 10 issues of public policy. The results seemed to bear out the categories of Right and Left Wing, with Justice Jackson sometimes on the Right and sometimes on the Left.

It has been pointed out, however, that while the figures show that some Justices consistently favor government regulation and control (Left Wing) and others are against it (Right Wing), still, with the exception of Justice Black on the one extreme and Justice Roberts on the other, the rest of the Court has a pretty scrambled record, each being recorded more or less frequently on one or the other side.

This has led observers to look for another explanation for decisions that do show a fairly consistent cleavage in the Court, and it would seem that this explanation can be found in an old debate about the powers of the Court itself—whether it exists only to interpret existing law and the intent of Congress, or whether it has the right to decide public policy, regardless of the language of the law.

On this basis we can re-arrange Professor Pritchett's figures to show the Black-Douglas-Murphy group on the public-policy side and the Frankfurter-Reed-Roberts group on the legalist side, with Stone-Jackson-Rutledge now on one and now on the other, with the two latter groups not particularly concerned about being pro-New Deal or against it, but with the law as they see it.

WILFRID PARSONS

# **UNDERSCORINGS**

APRIL 11 marked the 25th anniversary of the first releases of N.C.W.C. News Service. Congratulations are certainly in order for twenty-five years of ever growing service.

▶ In unusually blunt language the Most Rev. Bernard Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster, condemned artificial insemination of human beings: "Such a practice offends against the dignity of man, sins against the law of nature and is unjust to the offspring. The donor of the seed is reduced to the status of a stallion. . . . No consent of the husband and wife can remove the immorality of the act."

The French Consultative Assembly has voted to discontinue immediately state subsidies to church schools, granted by the former Vichy regime. The decision is based (?) on

the principle of separation of Church and State.

Parents are primarily responsible for the education of their children. They have the imprescriptible right to choose without pressure of any sort a school in which instruction and education, the one inseparable from the other, can be given them. But this freedom of education ought not to be a privilege dependent upon money, it ought to be assured

to all, including the families of the under-privileged. It is not understandable, therefore, why parents should be forced to make a double contribution if they want to accomplish their duty." Statement of the French Hierarchy.

▶ Iowa Catholics are protesting an amendment passed by the Iowa House of Representatives barring children attending Catholic schools from use of public-school buses.

The Most Rev. William J. Hafey, Bishop of Scranton, called upon pastors and their flocks "to storm Heaven on the three Sunday nights preceding the [San Francisco] Conference that out of this conference will come the framework of a world organization for peace that will deserve the blessing of God." Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, fixing April 16-22 as World Order Week, asked all churches to devote Sunday, April 22, "to special consideration of the momentous occasion and prayers for the success of the San Francisco Conference." Governor Gregg Cherry of North Carolina asked that prayers and discussions be held throughout the State from April 16 to 20.

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

# CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA

### GEORGE DOHERTY

IN ARTICLES in the January Harper's and the Commonweal of January 12, I discussed the nationalist movement with which many of the Catholic intellectual and political leaders of Argentina have in recent years been identified. I expressed the opinion that this movement is essentially anti-Catholic, based on political premises foreign to Catholicism, not rooted in the medieval tradition, as its followers apparently hold, but the intellectual offspring of Charles Maurras.

There should have been more in those articles about Christian democracy in Argentina. True, the Christian democrats are now a small minority, and their leaders report that the influence of the nationalists among Catholics is growing; but if democrats were to be discouraged by numerical inferiority they might lose heart everywhere, not just in Argentina.

#### CATHOLIC DEMOCRATIC TRADITION IN ARGENTINA

As in Mexico and other Latin-American countries, valiant priests participated in the Republican Governments from the days of the Revolution. One, Dr. Manuel Alberti, parish priest of San Nicolás, was a member of the Revolutionary Junta de Mayo of 1810. The famous Congress of Tucumán in 1816, which declared Argentine independence, included as members no less than thirteen priests. Then, after the black period of the Rosas tyranny, Fray Mamerto Esquiú played an important part in the re-establishment of constitutional government. His sermon in favor of the new Constitution—the same Constitution which nationalists today declare liberal and anti-Catholic—is credited by Gorostiaga with securing its approval.

After adoption of the Constitution, beginning about 1860, certain ideas of contemporary French anti-religious liberalism entered Argentina. They led to the 1884 education law and the 1887 law of civil matrimony. There were distinguished Catholics in the Argentine Government in this period, men like Estrada and Goyena, but most of them had the mentality of nineteenth-century Liberalism. Still, however, there were no philosophical nationalists.

Near the end of the century a group of young priests, of whom Padre Miguel de Andrea was one, came under the influence of Don Emilio Lamarca, a profoundly democratic Catholic layman, who founded the Liga Social Argentina for social research, endowed it with a fine library, and later sponsored the foundation in 1919 of the Unión Popular Católica Argentina. This union was intended to bring together all Catholics interested in social action under the direction of Msgr. de Andrea.

Ever since, Msgr. de Andrea, now titular Bishop of Temnos, has been the most distinguished democratic leader among Argentine Catholics. It is not too much to say that the Church's principal reservoir of good will among the poorer people of Argentina has been built by Bishop de Andrea. Associated with Bishop de Andrea are such outstanding democrats as Manuel Ordoñez, Augusto Durelli, Dr. Luis R. Gondra, Jr., Dr. Arturo Seeber, Dr. Miguel Benedit, Dr. Miguel Guglielmino (Editor of Tiempos Nuevos), Dr. Manuel Rio, Dr. Rafael Pividal and Señora Eugenia Silveyra de Oyuella.

Broadly speaking, Bishop de Andrea emphasizes good works and teaching. The good works take the form of helping the working classes to help themselves, not just to better their incomes, but to achieve some degree of freedom and responsibility.

One of Bishop de Andrea's principal accomplishments in this field of works is the Federation of Catholic Associations of Employes; the association of Argentine women office, trade and professional workers and dressmakers, organized by him in 1923, which now has 25,000 members out of an estimated total of 100,000 such workers in the country. These 25,000 members are organized in about twenty-five industrial groups or unions, under elected officers, who represent their members in labor disputes with the employers and before the government departments in negotiations over wage-rates and working conditions regulated by law. The association has a large building in downtown Buenos Aires with full medical, recreational, library and meeting facilities, an employment agency and a large cafeteria. There is a school with courses in stenography, accounting, languages, various crafts and music, with more than 900 students. It maintains several fine vacation resorts operated at cost for its members, the daily American-plan rates being fifty to seventy-five cents per day, U. S. currency. There are other valuable advantages, such as buying discounts at retail stores.

The extraordinary success of this and similar enterprises, and the love and esteem in which Bishop de Andrea is held by the people whom he has helped, give him a sympathetic audience among the Argentine lower classes for his frequent, popular statements of the case for Christian democracy. The position developed by Bishop de Andrea in a series of speeches, reprinted and widely distributed, is this:

### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Three principles must govern the reconstruction of civil society: liberty, social justice and democracy.

1. Liberty, the faculty inherent in the spirit by which every man chooses for himself between right and wrong without compulsion from within or without, is the supreme gift of God to man, after life itself. (For this statement about liberty, Bishop de Andrea has frequently been accused of heresy by certain Catholic nationalists, writing in Nueva Politica and other magazines.) The Catholic doctrine defends personal liberty as resolutely as any other; it teaches that without liberty, sanctity is impossible, for there is no sanctity without virtue, no virtue without merit, no merit without responsibility, and no responsibility without liberty.

2. Justice must relieve the economic misery of men and nations through a redistribution of economic income and resources, both between and within nations. "If this does not come prior to Revolution, it will come through Revolution."

3. Finally, the Christian civil society should be democratic, because democracy morally obliges all men to work for the elevation of both the moral and the material level of the people's life; and "there is no form of government which opens its doors so wide for the children of the people to share in the responsibilities of political power." "There abound, unfortunately, in this critical hour of the world, men who are seduced by the mirage of a government of force, granting to force a value which neither logic nor experience permits us to accept. . . . We are enemies of every type of government of force."

Internationally, "the peaceful stability of the new world demands in the name of humanity that, once and for all, the nations decide to contribute something of their own sovereignty in order that a supranational society may arise, armed with the necessary powers so that there can be, at the summit of the world community, a supreme tribunal in international disputes, beyond appeal." (This was said, not in

April, 1945, on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, or even after Dumbarton Oaks, but in a speech at Chicago on September 2, 1942, included in *Hacia Un Mundo Nuevo*, Editorial Difusión, Buenos Aires, 1942. In this speech he gives as one of his secondary reasons for supporting the principle of democracy that "the constitution of my country, to which I owe formal submission, [is] essentially democratic." This is worth mentioning because the Catholic nationalists make a point of disrespect not only for their own constitution, but for constitutional government in general. The moral problem involved in the revolutionary overthrow of constitutional government has never concerned them. They did not stop to ask whether the Revolution of June, 1943,

was justified from a Christian point of view.)

In another speech, La Libertad Frente a la Autoridaddelivery of which, at the inauguration of the Academia Nacional de Ciencias Morales y Políticas on October 29, 1943, was prevented by the Revolutionary Government-he refers to the natural right of the people to designate the man in whom authority is to reside-"a right which proceeds from God and is, therefore, inviolable. The responsibility which this right brings with it is tremendous, and demands that all necessary sacrifices be made to raise the people to the level required for its exercise. This is the great duty of democracy!" It is this designation by the people which, immediately, confers upon rulers their authority, and not riches, birth or even virtue or sanctity. With respect to this right, every man is essentially equal to every other man. He concluded by reminding the government that "to govern slaves is double ignominy; to rule over free men, double glory."

Not less important than his teaching within Argentina has been Bishop de Andrea's presentation of the Christian democratic position at meetings with members of the Catholic hierarchies of other Latin-American countries. This was notable in a series of seminars in the United States on social action, in which Latin- and North-American priests participated, and in which Bishop de Andrea's leadership was out-

standing.

#### THE BISHOP'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

In the field of works, probably the greatest achievement after Bishop de Andrea's Federation of Women Employes is the new Escuela de Asistencia Social directed by Marta Escurra. This school gives a three-year course in sociology and social welfare. Twenty-five girls graduated last year, and there were seventy in the entering class. Both Srta. Escurra and Srta. Saira Arias, the assistant director, have spent a great deal of time in the United States visiting the Department of Labor, the Social Security Board and the best schools of this type; and the courses and quality of the instruction in their school are said to be excellent by any standards. They are pioneers: case work, public or private, is just beginning in Argentina; the only trained workers are those graduated by this school since its foundation several years ago and by another of about the same size, the Museo Social Argentino. Catholic charities in Argentina, such as the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, have been organized on a personal basis, without effective organization; and public assistance is only just beginning. Marta Escurra recently founded the first settlement house in Argentina.

Unfortunately, there is no Catholic leadership in the Argentine trade unions aside from Bishop de Andrea's Federation, which represents only women non-factory workers. (The so-called Circulos Católicos de Obreros is not a trade union but a welfare and recreation association, with medical and insurance benefits, mainly composed of small business

men and their families. There are 30,000 members.) I do not imply that separate Catholic unions should be established. I would prefer to see Catholic leadership in the established trade unions. But the fact is that the labor leaders are not practising Catholics, and Catholics are sometimes distrusted by sincere unionists because they know that the corporative conception of trade union as interpreted in Argentina by the nationalists makes the union a mere instrument of state control, robs it of freedom and responsibility, even prevents it from improving the condition of its members.

A thriving branch of the Jocist Movement, called in Argentina the Juventud Obrera Católica, and founded about five years 2go, now has 5,000 members among the young

factory workers of Argentina.

There are no Catholic cooperatives, in our sense. When I went to Argentina I heard a great deal about the Catholic corporation of fisherman of the Argentine ports of Mar del Plata and Nicochea, centers of the fishing industry. This corporation was organized by Father Wilkinson, a Chaplain in the Argentine Army who was one of President Ramirez' principal advisers in the early months of the Revolution. Seven hundred out of eight hundred fishermen in the area are members. It has a stall in the fish-market in Buenos Aires, from which it sells to hotels, restaurants and retailers. It expects later to have its own retail outlets. A bank has been formed, the capital of which is being built up by setting aside fifty per cent of the profits of the cooperative; it will lend to the members for the purchase of their equipment and houses and consumer goods. Father Wilkinson says that the average monthly income of the members has been raised from thirty pesos (about \$7.50 U.S.) to one hundred.

These are admirable results, but there is a defect of leadership because of which the fishermen's corporation is not likely to be a foundation-stone of economic democracy in Argentina. Father Wilkinson made an effort to impress upon me that his corporation is not a cooperative in our democratic sense. Its members, he said, are incapable of helping themselves, of assuming leadership and responsibility in their corporation. The leadership must be supplied from outside.

Going back to the teaching phase of the work, while Bishop de Andrea has had incomparably the largest audience, the intellectual basis of the Christian democratic position and its bearing on Argentine and world problems is more fully and continuously explored in two Argentine reviews. A handful of people edit Tiempos Nuevos, a monthly which occupies about the same position as AMERICA or the Commonweal in the United States, but which has a tiny circulation (less than 2,500), so that it does not annoy either the Catholic nationalists or the present Argentine Government. Orden Cristiano, a weekly, is less bold than Tiempos Nuevos but, because of its larger circulation (about 7,000), more bothersome to anti-democratic elements. They are a mere handful compared with the nationalist group and, if Bishop de Andrea is excepted, they have, apparently, little positive support among the Argentine clergy. As seed corn, however, they have incalculable importance.

The Christian Democrats of Argentina are working closely with the Christian democratic leaders of Uruguay and Chile, where the movements have reached a higher stage of political development and popular support than in Argentina. In Chile, the Falange Nacional (in no way associated with the Spanish Falange) is flourishing under the leadership of Garreton Walker and others; and in Uruguay Dardo Regules, member of the Uruguayan Congress, leads a vigorous movement. These groups are democratic, without authoritarian discoloration. We can be proud of them and we

can trust them.

# NEW WEAPONS SPEED VICTORY OVER JAPAN

H. G. QUARITCH WALES

VICTORY OVER JAPAN will be hastened by a host of new weapons and tactics, many of them born of the supreme test in Europe. Gone are the days when Japan could choose the jungle battlefields that suited her best; Leyte was probably the last key battle of the Guadalcanal type. The pattern of future decisive battles has already emerged on the plains of Luzon and central Burma. Ultimately it will be on the plain of Kwanto before Tokyo that our air and armor superiority, and the many new techniques we have evolved, will count beyond anything that Japan can hope to offer.

Admittedly, amphibious tactics will continue to retain pride of place, at least until we are firmly established on the soil of Japan proper. But there is nothing static about the technique. Improved under-water demolition, better coordination of air and naval bombardment, greatly increased weight of shells and bombs, ever more devastating rocket-barrages, are among the advances which enable us to make each successive landing with greater precision and reduced

#### LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

One of the great lessons we have learned in the final phase in Europe, and one which will be applied to shorten the war against Japan, is the importance of an overwhelming superiority of matériel and ground forces. This explains the need for concentrating all available shipping and transferring the bulk of our armies to the Pacific immediately Germany is defeated. Again, we have learned from the Russian example that massed artillery-fire is more effective as a prelude to a land offensive than a saturation air-attack.

It is in a war of maneuver on open terrain that the full extent of Japanese inferiority will appear. The mortars, machine-guns and rifles which served them so well in jungle fastnesses and which are the weapons their factories are best fitted to produce will no longer avail them. In the matter of long-range artillery they have nothing to compare with our Long Tom. Their heaviest tanks are equivalent to our light ones, and they will soon be confronted by our General Pershing tanks produced in reply to the German King Tigers. What is more, the Japanese have failed to achieve mobility by lightness. Wherever there has been open fighting they have been repeatedly outmaneuvered, forced into pockets and cut to pieces by our superior fire-power.

The Japanese still show marked tactical rigidity. While they can work out a plan of their own efficiently, they find it difficult to accommodate themselves to our plan of attack, especially one that offers any alternatives. This deficiency we shall be able to exploit to the full, now that the enemy is everywhere on the defensive.

New air tactics are already making themselves felt in the softening-up of Japan proper. The use of B-29s singly or at low levels has disconcerted the Japs, and perhaps nothing has speeded up the possibility of an early invasion of Japan more than our discovery that our carrier-based planes can be used effectively against land-based enemy air power. In the Pacific generally we may expect to see a wider use of paratroops and air-borne forces. They are best used for cutting communications, creating confusion in the enemy's rear or capturing strategically important but lightly defended points. There should be plenty of scope for their use in Japan's occupied territories, where strategic points are

abundant and enemy forces widely dispersed. In Japan proper, however, variable weather, terrain and the large hostile population will restrict the use of air-borne troops.

A factor that has made possible our distant carrier-strikes and will ease the naval-supply situation during future naval cover-operations is the development of the sea train, or mobile supply base. This quite replaces the old concept of the fixed naval base. One such mobile base, known as Squadron 10, supplied the Fifth Fleet during its recent hammer blows with enough fuel oil to make a train of tank cars 238 miles long, enough gasoline to run 60,000 automobiles for six months and enough food to feed a city the size of Columbus, Ohio, for a month, not to mention the equivalent of 480 freight-cars of ammunition.

A comparable development in the military-supply situation is a direct outgrowth of our European experiences. Hitherto most Pacific supply bases have had to be built up from scratch on open beaches. Now Manila is the first modern port to be reclaimed in the Pacific, no doubt soon to be followed by Hong Kong, Shanghai and even Japanese home ports. Such ports, if not too completely ruined, will be restored after the manner of Antwerp, where a magnificent job was done. The task will be facilitated by our new portrepair ships, specially designed to clear away enemy obstructions and demolitions. Their fully equipped machine and repair shops get to work on damaged installations right away. Diving gear and decompression chambers are ready to raise scuttled ships and to deal with under-water hazards.

#### SOME OF THE NEW WEAPONS

While many of the new weapons that Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson has hinted will be used against Japan remain on the secret list, in some cases enough has been revealed to indicate future trends. Take rockets, for instance. Production is being increased 300 per cent and is already around \$100 million a month. A recent official statement mentions that the 4.5-inch beach-rocket, used to blast the enemy from beaches and fortifications, delivers a punch equal to that of a 105-mm. shell. The simple launching framework was developed by the California Institute of Technology. The same statement added that the Navy carrier task forces "are using rockets in ever-increasing quantity." They can be flown hundreds of miles, a plane carrying eight rockets, four under each wing. They can then be pinpointed on a target which they hit with the force of a fieldartillery shell. They are carried by Navy planes and lighter fighters, such as Hellcats. The reason they are "much more accurate when launched from planes than from the ground" is that the plane's speed combines with the rocket's fins to keep it on a true course.

The Army also has its new 4.5-inch rocket-launcher, deadlier than the bazooka. Including its light tripod-stand, it weighs only fifty pounds and yet gives the American infantryman nothing less than artillery firepower. But while the decisive battles will be fought in the open, the Jap puts up the strongest resistance wherever he has been able to prepare fixed fortifications, as on Iwo. At the approaches to key points like Tokyo Bay, and around naval bases, there will be more work for our improved tankdozers, which rip into the strongest pill-boxes. So, too, for our new flame-throwers. These are the "atomizers" which burn a jellied oil of secret formula and throw a "narrow lancelike jet" of far greater range than the older "firecloud" type. And against the flamethrower no protection is known.

In the Pacific air war perhaps nothing better indicates our far-reaching offensive intentions than the recent announcement made by United Aircraft, with Navy permission, that the Vought Corsair is to be used extensively from the decks of carriers for in-fighting against Japanese land-based planes. Originally a fighter, which proved superior to the Japanese Zero, the Corsair was modified to carry a 2,000-pound bomb-load and was used against enemy installations on by-passed islands. But the Navy was reluctant to use such big heavy planes from carrier-decks. Now, however, with rocket-assisted take-off, they are being used from even small escort carriers, as long-range bomber-fighters. Their duties will include destroying Japanese air cover or keeping it grounded, as our amphibious operations push on toward Japan.

Even more significant is the development of the jet-propelled fighter, production of which may soon become the largest single item in the whole range of American aircraft types. The main disadvantage of jet planes, their short range resulting from high fuel consumption, seems now to have been definitely overcome in the Army's first jet-propelled plane, the Shooting Star. This is described as a fighter of extreme speed, maneuverability and outstanding range.

Equally important developments are increasing the deadliness of our bombing, which is now leveling Japan's war industries and, prior to invasion, will completely disorganize the enemy's communications and defense system. This eventuality is foreshadowed in the performance of the Navy's new dive bomber, the Helldiver, which recently took part in carrier-strikes over Tokyo, delivering a bomb-load of over a thousand pounds with extreme accuracy. Meanwhile the B-29 fire-raids are setting to naught Japan's vaunted system of fire-alley defenses. The results are largely due to the new M-69 jellied-oil incendiaries, now being dropped in clusters from as low as 1,000 feet. These incendiaries consist of cheesecloth, impregnated with the flaming jellied oil. They spread out in all directions and blaze fiercely for ten minutes or so at a temperature of 3,000 degrees F.

We shall, of course, have no monopoly of new weapons in the Pacific. Though the Japanese must have been disillusioned by Germany's failure to win the war by means of secret weapons, they are undoubtedly making the best use they can of available German inventive genius to produce new types. On Iwo they first fired 1,000-pound rockets, believed to have been launched by jet propulsion, carried through the air by rocket power, and detonated at their destination by their nose fuses.

In recent months we have been meeting faster and better armed Japanese aircraft than previously. The Zeke, or redesigned Zero, embodies many improvements, and Japanese medium bombers have earned considerable respect. The Japanese have also produced clever devices for throwing aerial broadsides against our bomber squadrons. But Japanese plane losses in the Philippines campaign were very heavy. Construction is now being cut down by raw-material shortages and by our bombing. The enemy is being forced to concentrate on the production of interceptor fighters. Again, Japanese aeronautical research is inferior to ours, as can be seen, for example, in their failure to produce an efficient self-sealing fuel tank.

The enemy's best airmen have already been killed, their good mechanics are stranded on the islands of the South Seas. Surviving Japanese airmen are untrained and unable to think when in a tight corner. Their futile efforts at evasive action make them easy victims to resourceful American fliers. Costly suicide tactics, such as deliberate head-on crashes, which are expected to become increasingly frequent, will make a poor substitute for badly needed efficiency. Indeed, it is above all this failure of the human element that seals the Japanese doom.

# GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

### BENJAMIN L. MASSE

(Fifth Article of a Series)

READER: We were going to discuss this week the relationship between government and business.

Writer: Yes. Suppose we begin with a criterion which will help us to distinguish between good and bad types of governmental economic activity. I should say that any measure which leads government to displace private business or dominate it, or do what business can very well do itself, is rightly suspect; on the other hand, any measure which helps business to function freely at profitable levels and provide employment deserves sympathetic consideration.

Reader: Most people will agree to that.

Writer: They will agree to more than that, as the last election showed. I doubt whether any candidate for the Presidency can be elected in this country unless he approves collective bargaining, minimum-wage legislation, social security, support for farm prices, supervision of the security markets, progressive taxation on incomes and inheritances, competition and encouragement to small business.

Reader: In these days of severe social tension, it is heartening to remember that the area of agreement among us, Democrats and Republicans, New Dealers and anti-New

Dealers, is bigger than we imagine.

Writer: That is very true. I would point out also that the forms of governmental intervention enumerated above have a bearing on our \$64 question—namely, what must government do to help private enterprise achieve and maintain an economy of full production and full employment? Most of these measures attempt to provide effective demand in the marketplace by encouraging a more equitable distribution of the national income.

Reader: From our discussions last week, I gather that the Government, as you see it, must do still more.

Writer: If we are to have an economy of full production after the war, I think that the Government must underwrite it. A bill incorporating this idea of governmental responsibility for general economic conditions has already been introduced in the Senate.

Reader: You mean the so-called full-employment bill sponsored by Senators Murray, Wagner, Thomas and O'Mahoney?

Writer: Yes. That bill is based on the idea that national hoarding is the chief, but not the only, cause of depressions. Many people manage to save a portion of their income, which means that they do not spend all of it on consumers goods. If they do not invest these savings, that is, spend them on capital goods, or lend them to someone who will, they are said to hoard them. The theory is that at full-production levels aggregate private investment does not equal aggregate hoarding. The result is that on the next round the flow of income diminishes and a deflationary spiral begins. This is reflected in unemployment and decreased demand in the marketplace.

Reader: And this deficiency in private spending calls, I suppose, for government outlays to maintain the income level.

Writer: That is the idea. As the ultimate remedy, the bill authorizes the President to recommend to the Congress a program of public spending to offset the lag in private investment. The purpose is to make certain that total spending, public and private, is always high enough to maintain

full employment, but not so high as to set the country off on an inflationary spree.

Reader: Am I right in suspecting that you are somewhat

less than enthusiastic about this program?

Writer: That is a fair enough way to put it. I am like a man who agrees with the diagnosis but is suspicious of the medicine the doctor prescribes.

Reader: I don't see why you should be. If you insist on having full employment, and if private investment cannot provide the jobs, then there is nothing to do but call for

government spending.

Writer: But there are different kinds of government spending. The Government can spend, directly or indirectly, on consumer goods, or it can spend on capital goods. It makes a great deal of difference which type of spending we adopt, or, more correctly, since both kinds of spending will be needed, which type of spending we want to emphasize.

Reader: The bill leaves this up to Congress, does it not? Writer: That is what the language says. But we must look behind the language. When I do this, I have the impression that many supporters of the bill wish to place the emphasis on spending for capital goods. They want to make public investment the Big Bertha of a full-employment policy. I don't agree with this. I think the main reliance ought to be on some scheme which directly assists the consumer. Remember, the chief objective in all these plans is to maintain effective demand in the marketplace. If the consumers are there with folding money in their pockets, investment, it is hoped, will largely take care of itself.

Reader: I see. These people you speak of would have the Government make investments in order to create jobs and, in the process, create purchasing power. You would simply

create the purchasing power.

Writer: That is the general idea. I think this is the more efficient way to offset a lack of private investment, and a way less likely to lead to collectivism. It seems to me, also, since we must keep in mind the realities of life, that it has a better chance to win the approval of Congress. If you are interested in this approach, I recommend an article by J. H. G. Pierson, "The Underwriting of Aggregate Consumer Spending as a Pillar of Full-Employment Policy," in the March, 1944, number of the American Economic Review.

Reader: I am interested but, speaking frankly, I don't see the alleged superiority of the consumer approach. Those who emphasize public investment want jobs, presumably worth-

while, for the unemployed; you want a dole.

Writer: That is just what I don't want. I want government to take such measures as will make it possible for private business to maintain high levels of production and employment; and I believe that emphasis on the consumer approach is more likely to do this than emphasis on government investment.

Reader: Go ahead. Give your arguments.

Writer: Well, first of all, if government investment is emphasized as the cure for depressions, chances are that this investment will frequently take forms that correspond only imperfectly with the needs and desires of the people. We may build roads, for instance, when what the people really want it more automobiles on the roads we already have. Economic demand, that is to say demand which reflects the needs and wishes of consumers, may not always dictate the nature of the investments the Government makes. We may get, not what we want, but what Congress or the President or the bureaucrats think we want. But if the criterion of economic efficiency is the satisfaction of our needs and desires, such investment will not always be efficient.

Reader: Obviously so. Pray continue.

Writer: In the second place, by emphasizing investment, we run too great a risk of collectivism. A free economy is one in which the consumer is king. But since government investment tends to substitute the judgment of politicians for the desires of the consumer, the latter's sovereignty is thereby weakened.

Furthermore, emphasis on government investment seems to have a bad psychological effect on private business. This is true even in those cases where some business groups, for their own advantage, choose to favor a particular kind of public investment. It might happen, therefore, that government investment, far from narrowing the gap between private investment and the total investment needed for full employment, might make the gap larger. And this would lead inevitably to more and more government investment, until the Government, to stave off economic collapse, might be forced to become the biggest factor in our economic life.

Reader: You don't have to argue very strenuously to convince me of that. But I imagine you'll hear plenty on the

subject from some of your New Deal friends.

Writer: Perhaps I shall, but then discussion and debate are good old democratic customs. Anyhow, however doubtful these arguments may be, the political argument against emphasizing government investment seems fairly convincing, don't you think?

Reader: You bet. We have a fine crowd of conservatives down there in Congress, although I admit it's embarrassing to see the Republicans stringing along with Southern reactionaries like Senator Bilbo and Representative Rankin. I don't think this "coalition" will swallow the Government-investment program. But now I want to hear something

about your plan.

Writer: I should like to insist, first, that my purpose is to advance, as the chief weapon against depressions, a scheme of government assistance that will enable private enterprise, to the fullest possible extent, to maintain its own market. I wish to suggest a kind of government help to business which will minimize the necessity of actual government outlay and involve the least amount of interference with the mechanism of the marketplace.

Reader: All this and Heaven, too!

Writer: You do well to be skeptical. But will you admit this statement: prosperity, if it is to be continuous, must be based on the masses of the people?

Reader: Yes, that seems evident. If the masses of the people cannot buy the mass-produced goods of our indus-

tries, the goods will not be produced.

Writer: Will you agree further that the capitalistic system has heretofore not been able to assure reasonably continuous income to the masses?

Reader: Of course. Wages are mostly paid on an hourly basis, sometimes by the week or month. With rare exceptions, they are not guaranteed for longer periods of time. Since this is so, clearly industry has never assumed any obligation to maintain uninterrupted purchasing power in the marketplace. As a matter of fact, as soon as a downward trend in the economic cycle is noticed, management retrenches, as we said last time. It cuts wages and lays men off.

Writer: Exactly. And this "prudence" in lowering its wage bill only accelerates the downward trend. Now I am prepared to argue that, if wages were guaranteed on an annual basis, the capitalistic system would function, other things being equal, on a more even keel than heretofore. The market would be steadier than is now the case, because purchasing power and spending habits would be steadier. This would mean, of course, that investment and production and

employment would be steadier, too. And that is what we are after.

Reader: It sounds good theoretically, but I perceive an enormous difficulty in the way. You know something of industrial history—how production and employment have fluctuated in the past. How can the management of almost any corporation you care to mention guarantee an annual wage to its employes when before the year is out sales and production may fall fifty per cent or more?

Writer: Under present conditions, most corporations cannot. But I want to change the conditions—and that is where the Government comes in.

(To be concluded.)

# SOME NOTES ON SPIRITISM

### ARNOLD LUNN

TEN YEARS AGO Mr. Hilaire Belloc predicted that Spiritism was destined to prove one of the most dangerous rivals to the Catholic Church. I believe that he will be vindicated as a true prophet.

Spiritism is a formidable rival because the Spiritist, in his approach to the problem of miracles, is the least unscientific of those who reject Christianity. He is unhampered in his search for truth by the negative dogma—"miracles do not happen." His theory does not fit all the facts, and is inconsistent with important facts, but it fits far more facts than the theories of old-fashioned secularists like Mr. Joseph McCabe or those modernists whose ideas were modern when great-grandmother looked pretty in crinolines.

Many years before I became a Catholic, I attended various séances with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and with Sir Oliver Lodge's favorite medium, and as a result expressed, in books published at the time, views identical with those which I now hold. I mention this because if ever I write on the subject I am always referred to by Spiritists as a champion of Catholic views on Spiritism, the implication being that my negative verdict is imposed on me by the Church.

I thought then, and I still think, that, under exacting test conditions, psychic phenomena have been observed which are inexplicable within the framework of the laws of nature. I consider it to be proved that mediums often display knowledge of facts which were unknown to them through the normal channels. I believe that a very small proportion of these phenomena may be the work of discarnate spirits, but I do not believe—and I have never believed—that we get in touch with the dead.

Recent experiments which have demonstrated the reality of telepathy and clairvoyance seem to me to tell against the Spiritist hypothesis. Dr. J. B. Rhine carried out, over a period of years, a series of experiments at Duke University which are fully described in his book, Extra-Sensory Perception. For the purpose of these experiments, packs of cards were used which contained cards of five different types, marked respectively with a circle, a square, a cross, an asterisk and wavy lines. If an experimenter in one room looks at a card, and the percipient in the other room tries to record the card looked at, we have an experiment in telepathy. If the percipient attempts to name a card before it is turned up by the experimenter, we have an experiment in clairvoyance. The distinction is important. Telepathy is the communication of thought from one mind to another; clairvoyance is a super-normal method of arriving at knowledge unknown to any other living being.

It is admitted by Spiritists that to prove spirit communication it is not enough for the medium to prove that she is aware of facts which she did not previously know but which were known to the departed spirit. She may merely be reading telepathically the mind of the sitter. If, however, the medium reveals knowledge of facts unknown to living beings, but subsequently proved to be known to the dead person, must we assume that the dead person has communicated them? Not necessarily, if they are explicable in terms of clairvovance. In the Rhine experiments, if pure chance alone was decisive, we should expect the percipient to score approximately twenty per cent of hits. Some of the percipients achieved results the odds against which could be expressed by the figure 1 followed by fifty naughts. These experiments have continued in England. "Dr. Soal's paper," writes Dr. D. Broad in Philosophy (Nov., 1944), "provides evidence which is statistically overwhelming not only for telepathy but for precognition."

These experiments are all but decisive against materialism. The wave analogy is fallacious. The rays would have to originate, not only in the agent's brain, but also in the cards. Moreover, the results often improve with distance, whereas the effect of all other waves known to physics decreases inversely with the square of the distance.

If spirits cooperated in these experiments, it was without the knowledge or the wish of those who conducted the experiments.

Now it is quite clear that if extra-sensory perception be established—as I believe it to be—it is quite unnecessary to postulate a spirit in order to explain the fact that mediums in trance, like Dr. Rhine's experimenters in their normal condition, often disclose information unknown at the time to any living being.

Even in the case of the best mediums there is a curiously fatuous element. "Phinuit," the spirit control of the famous American medium, Mrs. Piper, claimed to be the spirit of a French doctor. He startled his sitters by the accuracy of his knowledge of their past histories, but when a sitter began to talk to him in French, there was an embarrassed silence. Dr. Phinuit explained that he had had so many English patients he had forgotten his native language.

Spirit messages echo the wishes of those who consult them. Good people receive edifying injunctions to morality, but those in search of less exacting sex codes than the Christian have no difficulty in finding spirit directors among the departed who will provide the kind of advice they are prepared to take. Up to the very outbreak of the war, the spirits continued to proclaim that war was unthinkable. Of course there is no reason why the spirits should be infallible, but it is a little disconcerting that the proportion of the ill informed seems to mount so rapidly on the other side of the barrier. All the spirits predicted peace, whereas in the summer of 1939 most people I met believed that war was inevitable.

Beauty is as characteristic of genuine miracles as ugliness and futility of the super-normal phenomena of the séance room. The reader should examine the photographs of "materializations" in the works of Schrenk-Notzing, Geley or Richet. "Ectoplasm," the mysterious, whitish substance which organizes itself, as I have observed myself, into the shape of a body or a face or a hand, seems to obey a law which compels it to materialize in futile, foolish or repellent forms. Most ectoplasmic faces are as vacant of expression as the face of an idiot. Almost all are repulsively ugly, and some are terrifying in their expression of evil. If spirits are responsible for these manifestations, we may be sure they are unclean spirits.

# ATTACKING CHARITY

TRADITIONAL Moscow sound and fury against the Catholic Church recently rocked the walls of the Washington Irving High School in New York City. On March 8, Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Benjamin denounced "these once so silent Roman Catholics" who now "suddenly are clamoring for what they call a just peace."

"There can be no such thing as justice for murderers," continued the venerable Metropolitan. "These Roman Cath-

olics are simply making themselves ridiculous."

Since the law of the Anglo-Saxon nations, from time immemorial, has contained elaborate provision for securing justice for all men, even for murderers, it is interesting to learn this is simply a "ridiculous" Roman Catholic idea. We always suspected that trial by jury—one phase of this idea—was a good old Catholic invention. But we are glad to have the matter put so plainly by the Metropolitan.

What these attacks aim at, is seen from the attitude of the Soviet Government towards newly taken-over Austria. The Moscow Pravda charges that the Catholic Church forms the principal hindrance to a "patriotic front" in Austria. From Stalin's remarks at Yalta, where he spoke of the possibility of "uniting" the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and from Pravda's campaign against the Vatican, it is clear, observes Anne O'Hare McCormick in the New York Times for April 11, that he is thinking of the political importance of the Church more than ever before.

The recent tactics of the Soviet anti-Catholic campaign mark a shift from the former basis of attack, which was on the conduct of the Church during the war. The Church's peace policies come in now for the major assault and, curiously enough, they are centered, not upon any supposed lack of charity or any lovelessness on the Church's part, but upon

her principles and program of charity.

During time of war the question of charity, as a principle of social and of international life, has stayed largely in abeyance. But the problems of the peace bring it sharply to the fore. Most of us have difficulty in finding out where the province of justice ends and that of charity begins, in international as in domestic life. Some years ago the famous Dominican professor of international ethics, Father Albert Delos, said that this boundary line between justice and charity is still in process of formation, since international justice has not, as yet, clearly determined its own proper domain. But as the international world becomes better organized and clearly defined standards of justice are set up in the relations between nation and nation, it will become increasingly clear that there are certain questions which can be solved only by charity or at least by that "spirit of sincere fraternity" which the present Holy Father mentioned in his last year's Christmas message.

The terrific question of carrying out severely yet justly the punishment of war criminals is now bringing the function of charity into a capital public debate in Europe. The plain fact is that, without some degree of charity, justice itself becomes in large measure unworkable. When charity completely disappears from the scene, remarks François Mauriac in the Paris Figaro for January 7, "its absence creates a disconcerting uniformity between enemies who heretofore had considered themselves irreconcilable. . . . On the day when charity shall have completely abandoned this world, the concentration camps, the cremation furnaces and the communal graves will be equally distributed among all the different peoples" and you will find the marks of torture on all of them alike.

The immediate problem to be faced in forming the world-

security organization at San Francisco is that of establishing for its control and its procedure an explicit recognition of the principles of justice. In a surprisingly short time the consciousness that the issue of justice is paramount in the review of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals has gained the imagination of the American people. The fact that the American delegation has already voted agreement on several important amendments in the interest of justice bears witness to this rapid growth of a very powerful sentiment, which in turn can be traced to the constant efforts of the various religious bodies of the nation to keep the issue of justice before the public.

But as the matter of justice becomes clearer, the imperative need of charity in international adjustments will come more and more to the front. If the craving for security is as intense in the mind of the Soviet Government as is usually asserted, that Government's representatives at San Francisco will do well, merely in their own interest, to respect the faith of those who teach that if we are to be human beings ourselves we must deal with all men, even criminals, as our brothers. Neither security nor justice can be realized, unless the deepest law of all in human affairs—that of charity—is

allowed to reign.

### FOUR YEARS OF NCCS

APRIL 21 is the fourth birthday of the National Catholic Community Service as a participating agency of the USO. Its primary purpose was to provide spiritual, educational and recreational welfare for the men and women of the armed services on the battlefronts and on the home front. Statistics show that it has fulfilled that duty magnificiently: some 500 centers are served, either alone or jointly with other USO agencies; over 700 professionally trained workers, assisted by over 185,000 volunteers a month, gave over thirty-nine million hours of their time from June, 1941, through December, 1944. During that same period more than 175 million guests visited NCCS clubs.

Beyond this, NCCS early learned that global war demands more than help and comfort to be given those in uniform; its Women's Division has broadened its activities constantly to assist women in industry, women permanently or temporarily located in military areas, women still at home who

have been affected by the war.

There are other aspects of NCCS's work which are, perhaps, too little known, but which bear in them the greatest seeds of future influence. There is, for example, the recreational activity being conducted in housing projects, which is but a part of the possibilities for community recreational projects that will offer themselves after the war. In one Western town, for example, which had been largely indifferent if not hostile to the Faith, one enterprising NCCS worker turned an unused hangar into a roller-skating rink, which has now grown into a community recreationand religious-center.

Vision like this for the future is the brightest aspect of NCCS's fourth birthday. What has been done during the past four years has been magnificent; a golden opportunity lies ahead. Hundred of trained Catholic workers, more than ever before in the history of the Church in this country, will be ready and eager, as the armed forces muster out, to transfer the field of their apostolate from military to civilian life. There will be, it seems safe to predict, a constant

growth in community planning for recreation and education. The trained Catholic leadership this war has occasioned must be ready, under the proper supervision, to take its place, to have its voice, in those projects. Several bills are now before State and Federal legislatures, providing for such community projects-have professional Catholic community workers, under the NCCS, helped shape their purposes and ideals?

The fourth birthday of the NCCS, then, calls for a resounding "well done," and for a most sincere prayer that such a fruitful apostolate of Catholic leadership will move surely and strategically from ministering to the needs of war into ministering to the needs of peace. To fail to adapt such hard-won and wide experience to postwar reconstruction would be, surely, to provoke the charge of "why such waste?"

### GERMAN ANTI-NAZI

GERMANY, for the moment, is an enemy nation that must be defeated at any cost. That moment is swiftly passing. Then Germany becomes a nation that, for the peace of the world, must be rehabilitated so that she may in due time take her place in the family of nations.

For that reason it becomes important to know and understand those Germans who for a long time have fought Nazism because they loved Germany. Many such men have long since died. Others are broken physically and mentally from years of torture in concentration camps. Others, too powerful to be easily crushed, have been systematically hounded and persecuted while they continued to rally what German people they could against the evils of Nazism.

Bishop Von Galen is such a man. From the very early days of Hitlerism he stood forth as a leader, even among the courageous German Bishops, who consistently warned against Hitler and openly defied Hitler. Yet, as a brief interview indicates, Bishop Von Galen, for all his dislike of Hitler, is still thoroughly German. He loved and loves his country and his people. He has seen cities and homes destroyed, his people driven to homeless wandering along the roads, caught between the brutality of Hitler and the might of enemy striking power. He is bitter against Hitler and his doctrines and his hordes for what they have done to his people. Being German, he cannot easily open his arms to the invader, the enemy, who have, no matter how justifiably, wrought horrible destruction on the country and people that he loves.

As to us Germany for the time being is the enemy, so to Bishop Von Galen and the many like him in Germany, anti-Hitler yet loyally German, we are still the enemy. Such men in their loyalty to their own country cannot be expected to open their arms spontaneously to the invader. We would despise them if they did. So would the German people. So,

too, would history.

Yet, for the sake of future peace, it is with such men that we must come to an understanding. When war is over and we cease to be the invader, they will understand that for the peace of the world and for the peace of Germany we did the things that we had to do. We on our part will understand that they cannot be less than they are, loyally German, heart-broken at the destruction they have seen, pride-broken in defeat, even resentful. The resentment will pass when we and they come together in the huge task that still lies before us, the rebuilding of the world, the world that includes even Germany.

# AFTER TWO YEARS

LAST WEEK the attention of the country was concentrated on the battlefields where sensational victories foreshadowed a quick end to the war in Europe and hastened the final decision in the Pacific. In our understandable preoccupation with these heartening developments, there is a possibility that we may have overlooked an important event here at home. April 8 marked the second anniversary of President Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order, and Messrs. William H. Davis, Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization; Chester Bowles, Price Administrator; Marvin Jones, Head of the War Food Administration, and George W. Taylor, Chairman of the War Labor Board, took the occasion to report on their stewardship. While not as sensational as the Army's sweep into Germany or the successful invasion of Okinawa, this report, detailing the progress of the antiinflation campaign, deserves the most serious consideration. It furnishes timely warning that we can botch the job of making peace in more ways than one.

The report may be summed up by saying that by and large the line against inflationary forces has been held, but that the fight is far from over. "The nation's cost of living index today," the authors of the report affirm, "stands little more than two per cent above its level of two years ago when the hold-the-line order was issued." Clothing is up 12.1 per cent and house furnishings 15.4 per cent, but rent is about the same as it was in 1943 and food prices have declined almost three per cent. During the interval the prices of industrial products, which enormously affect the cost of the war, advanced only about two per cent, although "average straight-time hourly earnings are currently estimated to be 10 per cent above their level of two years ago." And all this has been accomplished despite the fact that the national income has been at record-breaking levels and the gap between purchasing power and available goods and ser-

vices has grown constantly larger.

While some of these figures can be disputed, the conclusion seems inescapable that the anti-inflation program has so far worked reasonably well.

The report, however, goes on to point out that "the difficulties are likely to be further increased by the readjustments in the war program and in the economy that will follow victory in Europe." Recalling the disastrous inflation that followed a deceptive sag in prices after the last war, the authors ask the President, and through the President the people, to beware of siren voices calling even now for an end to price- and wage-controls. The report insists, and rightly, that the stabilization program must be continued until final victory, and even then should not be abandoned but "adapted to the stresses of transition-to the requirements the economy will face when the Government has largely withdrawn from the market." In other words, after having protected the nation from a wartime inflation, the Government must be prepared to cope with deflationary trends which may set in during the reconversion process.

No one likes the restrictions involved in this kind of policy, and when the enemy has been defeated there will be a fearful temptation to do away with controls and blow off the lid. Then is the time when we all must remember the millions of young Americans who have fought this bloodiest of all wars and who hope to return to a peaceful and prosperous country. If we welcome them back with a runaway inflation and all the suffering that will involve, we shall surely lose the fruits of the discipline and sacrifice which have so far made the anti-inflation program a success. The line must still be held.

# LITERATURE AND ART

### OR IS IT VISION?

### THOMAS L. O'BRIEN

IT WAS A REAL surprise and a great compliment to find that Father Logal had done me the honor (AMERICA, March 10, We Lack Technique) of furthering my examination of Catholic art and its ills. The fairness and clarity with which he has treated the ideas contained in my article give me great confidence in his insight and honesty. And, for that reason, a further attempt to state my position would seem to be in line with the wishes of Father Logal.

As in all discussions of this sort, there are in this one certain points of agreement, and certain points of disagreement. There are likewise points that one finds somewhat difficult to understand, since words are the poor things they

actually are.

For instance, I find it hard to understand exactly how it follows from my former article that I am only "theoretically" acquainted with the problem. Very possibly that is true. I am not denying it, only finding it hard to see the sequence. I must admit that I too frequently have to bow my head at that very accusation, but I had thought that experience would bear me up on this occasion. For I have been intimately connected with Catholic education for something like twenty years; I have taught in two widely separated Catholic universities; I have studied in both Catholic and secular schools; I have been closely acquainted with professors in Catholic schools from all parts of the country. It has been my business to acquaint myself with Catholic literary art (I must admit my ignorance regarding the other arts). And (horrors!) I have even been very earnest in my own artistic attempts during the past ten years. So, much as I usually suspect my own sin of "theoretics," I really must beg off this one, at least to the extent of saying that I cannot quite see the urgency of the connection between my article and my lack of acquaintance with the problem.

Then, too, I find it difficult to see clearly how criticizing Catholic education on its lack of vision is "indicting Divine Grace and the Holy Spirit" for the failure of that education. I was always under the impression that God saves free men through free men. So when one criticizes the human element in that work of salvation, it is entirely possible that he can retain his sense of respect and reverence for the Divine. If this were not true, then Saint Jerome indicted the Holy Spirit when he awoke and found the world gone Arian; or Saint Peter Canisius when he wrote that the whole of Germany was following the Reformers. They both proclaimed the failure of "Catholic education," and I am quite certain that neither called the Holy Spirit up before the bar of his

own police court for sentencing.

So much for preliminary spade-work. I am extremely gratified to find that Father Logal and I agree completely on several main points in the discussion. We agree that Catholic art is in a poor state. We agree that Catholic art's poverty is due to the failure of Catholic education. We further agree (Oh, how heartily!) that formalism in philosophy, "classicism" in literature, and imitation in the writing courses are largely to blame for such failure. Incidentally, Father Logal failed to remark the almost total lack in our education of dogmatic theology, which alone can give the real vision of the sacramental universe (the point of my former article, by the way).

Now, if we admit these three sins of Catholic education—namely, philosophic formalism, literary "classicism" and imitative composition, plus a dreadful lack of dogmatic theology; and if we say that the result of these sins (as Father Logal says so well) is a Catholic education with (and I am quoting from here on) no "discovery of the truth which is here," no "thinking in terms of philosophy," no "real assent," no "independent thinking, original research and creative reading," no grasping of "the sublime and glowing truths of Catholic Philosophy," then our conclusion must be that those sins have shut off the vision of Catholic students from the reality underlying words and terms. For, actually, the quotations above are a very piercing description of just what I mean by "no vision."

And that is exactly what I want to say. It is the lack of a deep, internal realization of a "sacramental universe" which makes it virtually impossible for a Catholic artist to transmute the demands of his religion sufficiently to submerge himself entirely in any artistic act. And until this entire surrender to the artistic act can be achieved, Catholic

art is condemned to mediocrity.

For what I tried to say in my last article was this: the artistic act demands complete dedication, absolute faithfulness to itself, complete consecration of the artist to the task at hand. This task is a limited, created good. Hence, if the dedication demanded by art means turning from God, it is essentially sinful.

Thus, the Catholic who is truly an artist can do any one of three different things; either he fails to understand the sacramental universe, and thus sins subjectively by turning completely away from God in this particular act; or he does understand the sacramental universe, and thus can be absolutely honest, completely unwithheld in his artistic effort; or he can fail as an artist.

Hence, though both Father Logal and I admit a lack of technical skill in written expression, that lack does not seem to answer the problem—namely, why such poor Catholic art? And that for two reasons.

First, if the sins imputed to Catholic education result in lack of technique in writing, how can that lack account for the failure in the Catholic arts of music, painting, sculpture or architecture, in which arts writing technique plays no part whatsoever?

Secondly, it is entirely possible that technique as such could be highly developed within the present atmosphere and framework of Catholic education. Indeed, it is. Catholic lyric poetry today is technically quite excellent. Of the three prizes in a late Atlantic Monthly writing contest for college people, students attending Catholic colleges won two first prizes and two honorable mentions, plus two scholarships offered as further reward. But it remains true, in spite of the admitted technical achievements in Catholic lyric, that that lyric, by and large, is light, lacks vision, lacks depth, lacks discovery. Thus, poverty of technical skill in writing does not seem to be an adequate answer to the problem of Catholic arts in general.

Father Logal seems to think that if one were to break through the "formalism," "classicism," and "imitation" in the process of learning, he would thereby attain skill in expressing what he has learned. There is a real connection between the two processes, but I hardly think it is a necessary one. The technique in modern art in general is, I think, admittedly high; and its significance is admittedly low. On

the other hand, it is entirely possible for one to attain the "vision" I am speaking about (or break through the formalism, as Father Logal expresses it) and still remain a mute, inglorious Aquinas. And it is experience, not theory, that is dictating here.

Therefore it seems to follow that there is no necessary connection between power of vision and technical skill of expression. It is possible to be skilful and visionless; seeing, and still mute.

But it is not possible (and this is the point I am making) that a Catholic artist who has this insight into the reality of the sacramental universe will find himself trammeled in his artistic effort by a conscious or subconscious fear of breaking God's law by giving himself completely to some creature, his own work of art.

Now, before closing, let us clear up two points which might make for confusion. First, this is not a question of portraying or not portraying sin, as Father Logal seems to imply. Werfel in his Song of Bernadette achieved artistic success not because he portrayed sin correctly, but because he could allow his complete artistic motion full freedom to enter completely into the subject of his art, and thus build from the inside out. Werfel has overcome by one means or another the drag on his artistic instinct and, given the magnificent technique he has developed over the years, he has come up with translucent truth, a wholeness of truth which we, his readers, find expressed in a complete characterization, a feeling for artistic detail, an over-all honesty and faithfulness to his work of art. The same honesty and dedication is apparent in his Forty Days of Musa Dagh, where he does portray sin. So it is not the sin-element which is the point of discussion; it is the honesty, the surrender to the material of artistic vision.

Then, too, there is this element in Father Logal's article which I would like to see cleared up. How can that education give a vision into "eternal verities" as Father Logal claims it does, and still teach no theology to speak of, be formalistic in philosophy, and "nominalistic" in literature? Try as I may, I can see only a contradiction here.

So, to sum up and shake hands: Catholic art is mediocre; Catholic education is largely to blame; technique certainly leaves something to be desired. But where Catholic education fails regarding this question of art is not precisely on the point of developing technique (technique can be, and usually is, a matter of personal zeal anyway), but it fails on the point of liberating the Catholic artist from any hindrance to his complete dedication to his artistic work, by revealing to him the holiness of that work as it fits into a universe trembling with God's own holiness. So be it.

### THE ASSUAGER

Now may the rain, so long desired, Beat softly, steadily, all the night Upon the brown fields summer-tired, Upon the stream bed skeleton-white.

Now may there come no chastening storm Driven upon the thunder's wings. Earth needs slow rain, deliberate, warm, That filters to the roots of things.

On house and tree, on barn and stall, Wherever is fever, thirst, or pain, Now through a long night may there fall The loving kindness of the rain.

RACHEL HARRIS CAMPBELL

### **BOOKS**

### GROWING PAINS DIAGNOSED

Now That April's There. By Daisy Neumann. Lippincott and Co. \$2.50.

THE FOLDED LEAF. By William Maxwell. Harper and Bros. \$2.50.

THERE HAS BEEN quite a little flutter of books lately on the problems of the young. I wonder if sometimes we do not talk about their problems so much, and in their hearing, that, out of a misguided spirit of doing after all only what is expected of them, they begin to have problems that they might otherwise never have encountered. Our fears for them must weigh them down, at times, until they are bowed like little old men and women.

The first of these two novels on youth, however, is not very highly freighted with care and the shocks of adolescent adjustment. It is on the sunny side, as it recounts the changes two English children, older sister and younger brother, have to make to fit into their home life after some years as refugees in the United States from the Battle of London. Their impressionable years with the family of a Harvard professor have made them quite thoroughly American, and they find their Oxford home, their Oxford professor father, their mother, horribly reticent, conservative, stodgy for a while, until the children Americanize them somewhat and, in turn, become more the little Britishers they are

by nature.

The book is not particularly weighty, but it does have, actually, a thesis that adds up to some, if very obvious, sense: that if we could adopt some of the better traits of the English and they some of ours, and neither of us the other's bad features, we would get along so much the better. In that sense the story is somewhat on the side of propaganda; it is, however, very sprightly and warmly written; there is a good deal of shrewd commentary on trivial nationalistic misunderstandings; there is perhaps too much smugness in the little daughter's conversion of her father—but maybe that is one of the problems of our adolescents (some of them at any rate): they are entirely too familiar with the claptrap jargon of modern psychology and entirely unfamiliar with the measured and profound statements of the Catechism's

Mr. Maxwell's attempt at a study of a rather strange friendship between two boys comes off superlatively well. It is a very sensitive penetration of loyalty and, if it is abnormal, it is only in the sense that such attachment as he portrays is rather a rare phenomenon. There is nothing abnormal in the sinister sense in the devotion of Lymie Peters to Spud Latham; indeed, the author has triumphed over a temptation that a lesser artist would have succumbed to, to slant the story into lurid perversion. This much being prefaced, it is still a book about adolescents that is not for adolescents: first of all, because it is too deeply a psychological study; secondly, because some few passages are too well larded with the words that boys at times chalk up on buildings. But for mature readers who delight in the craftsmanship that slowly, logically, sympathetically unfolds character, this is caviar.

The two boys are entirely dissimilar: Spud is the athlete, poised, sure of himself, attractive; Lymie, weak-chested, shy, unprepossessing. But the two need one another; they complement one another; when misunderstandings arise, they are miserable until the unspoken word, the understood glance, assure them that they are back in their undemonstrative friendship. Finally, when the greatest misunderstanding of all seems insoluble, Lymie is driven to despair and almost comes, through his own hand, to a shockingly tragic end. But the experience, perhaps not too strangely, wakens him to a sense of his own worth and independence, and the folded leaf, his manhood, expands. His adolescence, lonely, undirected, shut up in itself, not too happy, is past, and we rather imagine that his young manhood will find him a deeper and finer character.

Essential to the book is the understanding that Mr. Maxwell's development of the two boys' characters shoots deep roots down into the soil that helped form them—their respective homes, the college they attend, the years (the

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'twenties) in which they are approaching manhood. There is a certain vague instability in all these elements (Lymie living in hotel rooms with his faintly disreputable father, Spud's utter lack of affection toward his sister, the too-free, though not in the book suggestive, relations between the co-eds, etc.), which reflects itself in the characters of the

In fact, the book is rather more than the study of a starcrossed devotion. It is a scathing commentary on the social conditions under which boys in their formative years can be such utter strangers to parents, to teachers and (though I don't think the author actually envisioned this) to any spiritual values. Certainly the university the boys attend and the fraternity houses they frequent will give Catholic parents a not-too-exaggerated glimpse into what is meant by "secular" education. The word, you know, really means "worldly."

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### REBELLION OVER RENTS

TIN HORNS AND CALICO. By Henry Christman. Henry Holt and Co. Illustrated. \$3.75

THE LOUD AND COLORFUL title of this important book is partly amplified in the subtitle: "A Decisive Episode in the Emergence of Democracy." The "episode"—a diminutive word for what happened—was the Anti-Rent rebellion which came to a head in the spring of 1839 and lasted until well after the Civil War. The scene was the eleven New York counties east and west of the Hudson River and mostly south of Albany, where farmland, forest and stream, all were owned by the patroons and leased to tenants: " . . . almost no land within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles of Albany could belong to the people." The people thus affected were three hundred thousand; the land, two million acres.

The patroon system made this semi-feudalistic empire possible and, a fact, in the midst of "a nation that had, little more than half a century before, declared its faith in democracy and free enterprise." The first patroons had their charters through the Dutch West India Company. It was all in the highly civilizing process, ostensibly, of colonization. After the British supremacy in 1664 the system went on and spread out, with the creation of manors, with lords of the manors over the tenants. The system survived even the Revolutionary War, and was solidified by the political philosophy and operations of Alexander Hamilton.

Stephen Van Rensselaer III became the principal landlord in 1785. His brother-in-law, Alexander Hamilton, devised "a 'lease' that would bind the new tenants permanently to the estate." There is not space to quote here the terms of the "incomplete sale" contract, fulfilment of which redounded to the benefit of the landlord-always legal possessor of the land -and left the tenant with all the work, all the taxes, and but scant reward of his industry. In operation (and, some would say, also in principle) the thing was a monstrous violation of the connatural right to the material things by which life is

The author of Tin Horns and Calico has chosen this nearly unknown chapter in New York State history to tell in language more readable than most novels can boast, to recount objectively and yet sympathetically the struggle of the Anti-Renters to be free of their landlords' oppression. His research was not only among dusty records, but was largely leg-work over the scene; he carried it on for fifteen years; his book shows the fruit of his scholarly labor. Tin Horns and Calico is a superior accomplishment in historical writing.

Early in the narrative one learns the significance of the title, for in their rebellion-which sometimes went armed, often to the death-the almost grotesque figures of the Anti-Renters swarm through the pages dressed in their masquer-ade-disguise, a fake "Indian" costume cut from garishlycolored calico. Through hills of the Helderbergs, and everywhere in the Anti-Rent counties, resounded blasts of the farmers' tin dinner-horns, raucous signals that the sheriff was coming: "Resist that forced sale! Down with the Rents!" The struggle was long and bitter, through political and even judiciary corruption, unjust acts on both sides, no doubt, and the use of means both legal and illegal, but all faithfully and excellently told by this competent historian, of whose manner and method of writing I quote a passage (on the trial of "Big Thunder," Dr. Smith A. Boughton):

The spectators were silent as the jury filed into the

"We find the defendant guilty as charged," announced the foreman.

The news swept over Hudson. Judge Edmonds postponed sentencing until two o'clock in the afternoon, but long before the scheduled hour, the courtroom was filled, and a throng of five thousand grim farmers jammed the square. The trial had dragged on for four long weeks and it was the last day of September. On all sides autumn had hung the day with brilliant colors as though to mock the tenants' defeat. Below Hudson, Mt. Merino was a heap of gold. To the west the Catskills rose as bright as the calico dress of Big Thunder.

In Tin Horns and Calico, Henry Christman has added to the virtues of a good historian the charm of his art in letters. ROBERT E. HOLLAND

### DEMOCRACY UNDER NAZISM

BEYOND ALL FRONTS. By Max Jordan. The Bruce Publishing Co. \$3

TO SOME this book may at first sight seem to be a well conceived contribution to the propaganda process for a "soft" treatment of Germany, in order that Germany should be able to "try it again." The principles, personality and position of the author, however, are guarantees of his sin-cerity and tend to dispel the shadows of such doubts.

The author, a European-born American Catholic, quotes Dorothy Thompson: "There are no 'good' and 'bad' nations. In all nations there are good and bad people. . . ." His creed is that only in the spiritual brotherhood of humanity can there be real peace and that "the Lord has no step-children." As a European representative of NBC, he is at home on the Continent. He dedicates his book to the European underground, particularly to the martyrs of freedom in Italy, Germany and Austria. The personification of this group in Germany is Carl Goerdeler, whose name was linked by the Nazis with the plot on the life of Der Fuehrer, and whose execution was officially announced (and later doubted by American correspondents). "Goerdeler was not in the same category as the men who discovered Hitler's wickedness only after his armies were beaten. . . . They had been rebels, too, while she [Germany] was winning victories, and even before the war started." An anti-Nazi, Goerdeler felt that the German people had to empty the bitter cup of Hitlerism to the last drop, and experience the depths of misery if there was to be any hope of regeneration. "Two wars in one generation should teach the lesson—beyond all fronts," wrote Goerdeler in a letter to the author. "I for one know that the German people will disown the evil deeds of their rulers once they emerge from their coma.

What course is to be followed, what is to be done with Germany? The author's suggestion is to count upon the forces which were allied in the days of the Weimar Republic but were "weakened and rendered impotent because of the blindness of the victors and the obtuseness of Communistic as well as jingoistic elements at home." These forces should be given effective support. Ex-Chancelor Bruening, particularly, stands out in the recollections of the author. "The Nazi movement was not a cause. It was a result, a consequence,' he quotes the former Chancelor as having said during a conversation, "Eliminating the symptoms rather than the

causes would have meant nothing.

True Christians, of course, can still be counted upon. "In spite of all oppression," contends the author, "Christianity today is stronger in Germany than it was ever before. Hitler lost this battle long ago. His fury was the fury of a man who is aware of being beaten-beaten by something he does not recognize as a force at all: the force of the spirit!"

This is an unwelcome book to every one who does not wish to distinguish between Germans and Nazis, and who is ready to put temporary vengeance above a lasting peace. To those who are willing to make this distinction and to forego the idea of unnecessary vengeance, many of the author's views will commend themselves. TIBOR PAYZS

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HERE IS POETRY with roots struck deep in meditation, nourished by the slow, rich dripping of silence. Thomas Merton's was a mind cosmopolitan by background and education, to which the cloister has, by a paradox of grace, added a cosmic largeness of sweep and vision. He is a man of our time in form and workmanship; yet the transcendental strength of his thought eludes the confines of clock or calendar.

Especially notable are his Marian poems, which are pious in the full sense of that abused word—powerful, filial, like Our Lady herself in their combination of sweetness and strength. Within the scope of "The Messenger," for example, occurs the sonorous reference to "the grand belfries of the sleepless timber" and the felicitous quasi-colloquialism descriptive of Gabriel's coming to Mary: "When Gabriel hit the bright shore of the world." "The Blessed Virgin Mary Compared to a Window" is great poetry; "For My Brother: Reported Missing in Action" is tenderness with thews; the vaticinal solemnity of "Dirge for the Proud World" groans like a funeral bell. All of the poems are notable, many of the thirty in the volume, truly great. WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

THE CAPTAIN OF ST. MARGARET'S. By Ferenc Molnar. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.50

AFTER THE FLOOD of "epoch-making" novels with which we have been deluged for the past few years, it is a pleasant surprise to come across one which makes no pretensions and has no ulterior motives of propaganda, except to introduce the reader to a lovable, incredible old rogue, the Captain of St. Margaret's.

The Captain, who is no captain at all, is taking a rest cure on the tiny Danubian isle of St. Margaret in the middle of Budapest. From the wintry day when we meet him coming from an enforced bath, clad in a soaking uniform and a column of steam, he captivates our hearts, if not our better selves. For the Captain is a modern reincarnation of Falstaff and Don Quixote, a secularized version of Mr. Blue, a romantic teller of tales and a player of fabulous pranks. He is a symbol of that gay world of enchantment and that lost generation which vanished in the whirlwind of war on an August afternoon in 1914.

Eyebrows may be raised at a few of the Captain's madcap pranks, but it is hard to repress a chuckle at the all-night ball held in two trolleys careening from one end of the line to the other, and at similar escapades.

While this latest book of Ferenc Molnar will make no great stir in the world of letters, it makes a pleasant companion for a quiet evening when the day's work is done. It will be an enjoyable evening spent with the Captain of St. Margaret's.

JOSEPH M. SNEE

MOB. 3. A NAVAL HOSPITAL IN A SOUTH SEA JUNGLE. By Captain Robert P. Parsons, Medical Corps, U.S.N. The Bobbs Merrill Co. \$3.50

AN INTERESTING CHRONICLE of U. S. Naval Mobile Hospital No. 3, familiarly known as Mob 3, is here recounted by its observant and accomplished "skipper." The first of the Naval Mobile Hospital Units to leave the country after war was declared, Mob. 3 was destined for a secret base on a Polynesian Island which Dr. Parsons calls "Elysia."

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Next to his interest in his busy hospital, the Captain was most interested in the Elysian natives. The fact that the relationship between the natives and the military personnel was so amicable was due in large part to the author's understanding and example.

The book is easy and pleasant reading, yet chapters like the one about Sgt. Barton Hill, the wounded Marine, make one realize that it was all deadly in earnest. The story of Tuputala, the native musician, is told particularly well. CAPT. FRANCIS J. BRACELAND, USNR

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Mrs. Mydans writes with an intimate knowledge of the situation. She and her husband, Carl, had finished an assignment of a photo-reporting nature for Life magazine, and were covering the retreat toward Bataan when they were captured and interned. For eight months they lived at Santo Tomás and experienced defeat at the hands of the Japanese. The Open City is a journalistic account of the Americans they met and lived with. It is, also, the tale of the strain they endured and the effect it had on various individuals.

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REV. ROBERT E. HOLLAND, S.J., author and editor, is director of the Fordham University Press.

# This Publishing Business

### The Summa of Newman

Not in seven centuries has the Church had a thinker like Newman; not in fifteen centuries has she had a writer like him. But he wrote no systematic treatise. St. Thomas made his own Summa Theologica; it has been left for a priest of our own generation to make Newman's Summa Spiritualis. A Newman Synthesis by Father Przywara, S.J., is no less than that. He has taken hundreds of passages from all over the vast mass of Newman's writings, and has so arranged them as to reconstruct Newman's thought, in its shape and proportion and completeness, as it was present in Newman's own mind. Nothing but the sheer bulk of Newman's writing has kept him from being the most widely read of all spiritual writers in the English tongue. He is as easy to read as any, he is more glorious to read than any. But readers were kept from beginning by the sight of so much. Now that solitary obstacle is removed, we feel that Newman will take his rightful place, the first, among modern spiritual guides.

The general theme of the book is the growth of men to full spiritual maturity. This is seen in three stages:

first-fallen man's path to Christianity-the apprehension by his conscience of God as giver of the moral law, the perception of his own situation as one of sin, misery and profound need of God's help;

secondly-his conviction of Christianity and of Christ as his divinely willed and commissioned Messiah and Saviourthrough the fact of Christ in His historical life on earth, fulfilling the Old Testament, radiating miracle, living on in the Church-"head and body one Christ";

finally-redeemed man's path in Christianity, the way of faith which leads to the beatific vision of the one God in three Persons, the way of complete surrender to God's guidance and of brotherly love as a member of Christ's one body, a life lived from and in God.

These three stages are divided into a score of sections and each section is further subdivided into some hundred steps, which mark out the whole upward journey of the soul. Thus the spiritual life, dynamically and in its totality, lies in analysis before the reader: upon the points of that analysis, Father Przywara threads passages from Newmanchoosing those which careful research shows to be representative of the final state of his mind. The book is thus all Newman: the passages fall into sequence without the aid of any connecting links externally supplied: Newman surveys the whole of the conflict and co-operation of nature and grace.

It is not easy to speak soberly of this book, and if one cannot speak soberly it is better to say as little as possible, since the language of enthusiasm has been appropriated to salesmanship. Let us say that to read the book is to see God and one's own soul as though for the first time. (F.J.S.)

A NEWMAN SYNTHESIS by Erich Przywara, S.J. \$3.50

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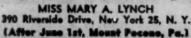
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'twenties) in which they are approaching manhood. There is a certain vague instability in all these elements (Lymie living in hotel rooms with his faintly disreputable father, Spud's utter lack of affection toward his sister, the too-free, though not in the book suggestive, relations between the co-eds, etc.), which reflects itself in the characters of the

In fact, the book is rather more than the study of a starcrossed devotion. It is a scathing commentary on the social conditions under which boys in their formative years can be such utter strangers to parents, to teachers and (though I don't think the author actually envisioned this) to any spiritual values. Certainly the university the boys attend and the fraternity houses they frequent will give Catholic parents a not-too-exaggerated glimpse into what is meant by "secular" education. The word, you know, really means "worldly."

HAROLD C. GARDINER

#### REBELLION OVER RENTS

Tin Horns and Calico. By Henry Christman. Henry Holt and Co. Illustrated. \$3.75

THE LOUD AND COLORFUL title of this important book is partly amplified in the subtitle: "A Decisive Episode in the Emergence of Democracy." The "episode"—a diminutive word for what happened—was the Anti-Rent rebellion which came to a head in the spring of 1839 and lasted until well after the Civil War. The scene was the eleven New York counties east and west of the Hudson River and mostly south of Albany, where farmland, forest and stream, all were owned by the patroons and leased to tenants: "... almost no land within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles of Albany could belong to the people." The people thus affected were three hundred thousand; the land, two million acres.

The patroon system made this semi-feudalistic empire possible and, a fact, in the midst of "a nation that had, little more than half a century before, declared its faith in democracy and free enterprise." The first patroons had their charters through the Dutch West India Company. It was all in the highly civilizing process, ostensibly, of colonization. After the British supremacy in 1664 the system went on and spread out, with the creation of manors, with lords of the manors over the tenants. The system survived even the Revolutionary War, and was solidified by the political philosophy and operations of Alexander Hamilton.

Stephen Van Rensselaer III became the principal landlord in 1785. His brother-in-law, Alexander Hamilton, devised "a "lease' that would bind the new tenants permanently to the estate." There is not space to quote here the terms of the "incomplete sale" contract, fulfilment of which redounded to the benefit of the landlord—always legal possessor of the land—and left the tenant with all the work, all the taxes, and but scant reward of his industry. In operation (and, some would say, also in principle) the thing was a monstrous violation of the connatural right to the material things by which life is sustained.

The author of Tin Horns and Calico has chosen this nearly unknown chapter in New York State history to tell in language more readable than most novels can boast, to recount objectively and yet sympathetically the struggle of the Anti-Renters to be free of their landlords' oppression. His research was not only among dusty records, but was largely leg-work over the scene; he carried it on for fifteen years; his book shows the fruit of his scholarly labor. Tin Horns and Calico is a superior accomplishment in historical writing.

Early in the narrative one learns the significance of the title, for in their rebellion—which sometimes went armed, often to the death—the almost grotesque figures of the Anti-Renters swarm through the pages dressed in their masquerade-disguise, a fake "Indian" costume cut from garishly-colored calico. Through hills of the Helderbergs, and everywhere in the Anti-Rent counties, resounded blasts of the farmers' tin dinner-horns, raucous signals that the sheriff was coming: "Resist that forced sale! Down with the Rents!" The struggle was long and bitter, through political and even judiciary corruption, unjust acts on both sides, no doubt, and the use of means both legal and illegal, but all faithfully and excellently told by this competent historian.

of whose manner and method of writing I quote a passage (on the trial of "Big Thunder," Dr. Smith A. Boughton):

The spectators were silent as the jury filed into the

"We find the defendant guilty as charged," announced

the foreman.

The news swept over Hudson. Judge Edmonds postponed sentencing until two o'clock in the asternoon, but long before the scheduled hour, the courtroom was filled, and a throng of five thousand grim farmers jammed the square. The trial had dragged on for four long weeks and it was the last day of September. On all sides autumn had hung the day with brilliant colors as though to mock the tenants' defeat. Below Hudson, Mt. Merino was a heap of gold. To the west the Catskills rose as bright as the calico dress of Big Thunder.

In Tin Horms and Calico, Henry Christman has added to the virtues of a good historian the charm of his art in letters. oned sentencing until two o'clock in the afternoon, but

ROBERT E. HOLLAND

#### DEMOCRACY UNDER NAZISM

BEYOND ALL FRONTS. By Max Jordan. The Bruce Publishing Co. \$3

TO SOME this book may at first sight seem to be a well conceived contribution to the propaganda process for a "soft" treatment of Germany, in order that Germany should be able to "try it again." The principles, personality and position of the author, however, are guarantees of his sincerity and tend to dispel the shadows of such doubts.

The author, a European-born American Catholic, quotes Dorothy Thompson: "There are no 'good' and 'bad' nations. In all nations there are good and bad people. . . ." His creed is that only in the spiritual brotherhood of humanity can there be real peace and that "the Lord has no step-children." As a European representative of NBC, he is at home on the Continent. He dedicates his book to the European underground, particularly to the martyrs of freedom in Italy, Germany and Austria. The personification of this group in Germany is Carl Goerdeler, whose name was linked by the Nazis with the plot on the life of Der Fuehrer, and whose execution was officially announced (and later doubted by American correspondents). "Goerdeler was not in the same category as the men who discovered Hitler's wickedness only after his armies were beaten. . . . They had been rebels, too, while she [Germany] was winning victories, and even before the war started." An anti-Nazi, Goerdeler felt that the German people had to empty the bitter cup of Hitlerism to the last drop, and experience the depths of misery if there was to be any hope of regeneration. "Two wars in one generation should teach the lesson—beyond all fronts," wrote Goerdeler in a letter to the author. "I for one know that the German people will disown the evil deeds of their rulers once they

emerge from their coma."

What course is to be followed, what is to be done with Germany? The author's suggestion is to count upon the forces which were allied in the days of the Weimar Republic but were "weakened and rendered impotent because of the blindness of the victors and the obtuseness of Communistic as well as jingoistic elements at home." These forces should be given effective support. Ex-Chancelor Bruening, particularly, stands out in the recollections of the author. "The Nazi movement was not a cause. It was a result, a consequence," he quotes the former Chancelor as having said during a conversation, "Eliminating the symptoms rather than the causes would have meant nothing."

True Christians, of course, can still be counted upon. "In spite of all oppression," contends the author, "Christianity today is stronger in Germany than it was ever before. Hitler lost this battle long ago. His fury was the fury of a man who is aware of being beaten—beaten by something he

does not recognize as a force at all: the force of the spirit!"

This is an unwelcome book to every one who does not wish to distinguish between Germans and Nazis, and who is ready to put temporary vengeance above a lasting peace. To those who are willing to make this distinction and to forego the idea of unnecessary vengeance, many of the author's views will commend themselves. TIBOR PAYES

# A Preface to Newman's Theology

Rev. Edmond Darvil Benard, M.A., S.T.D.

The Catholic University of America

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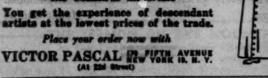
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Much of the volume deals with personalities—staff members, patients, Elysian natives and visiting firemen. It was to Mob. 3 that Eddie Rickenbacker and his party were brought from Funafuti two days after they had been rescued, and it was Mob. 3 doctors who "started pumping plasma into their circulations and bringing them back to life." Two

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# This Publishing Business

### The Summa of Newman

Not in seven centuries has the Church had a thinker like Newman; not in fifteen centuries has she had a writer like him. But he wrote no systematic treatise. St. Thomas made his own Summa Theologica; it has been left for a priest of our own generation to make Newman's Summa Spiritualis. A Newman Synthesis by Father Przywara, S.J., is no less than that. He has taken hundreds of passages from all over the vast mass of Newman's writings, and has so arranged them as to reconstruct Newman's thought, in its shape and proportion and completeness, as it was present in Newman's own mind. Nothing but the sheer bulk of Newman's writing has kept him from being the most widely read of all spiritual writers in the English tongue. He is as easy to read as any, he is more glorious to read than any. But readers were kept from beginning by the sight of so much. Now that solitary obstacle is removed, we feel that Newman will take his rightful place, the first, among modern spiritual guides.

The general theme of the book is the growth of men to full spiritual maturity. This is seen in three stages:

first-fallen man's path to Christianity-the apprehension by his conscience of God as giver of the moral law, the perception of his own situation as one of sin, misery and profound need of God's help;

secondly-his conviction of Christianity and of Christ as his divinely willed and commissioned Messiah and Saviourthrough the fact of Christ in His historical life on earth, fulfilling the Old Testament, radiating miracle, living on in the Church—"head and body one Christ";

finally—redeemed man's path in Christianity, the way of faith which leads to the beatific vision of the one God in three Persons, the way of complete surrender to God's guidance and of brotherly love as a member of Christ's one body, a life lived from and in God.

These three stages are divided into a score of sections and each section is further subdivided into some hundred steps, which mark out the whole upward journey of the soul. Thus the spiritual life, dynamically and in its totality, lies in analysis before the reader: upon the points of that analysis, Father Przywara threads passages from Newman choosing those which careful research shows to be representative of the final state of his mind. The book is thus all Newman: the passages fall into sequence without the aid of any connecting links externally supplied: Newman surveys the whole of the conflict and co-operation of nature and grace.

It is not easy to speak soberly of this book, and if one cannot speak soberly it is better to say as little as possible, since the language of enthusiasm has been appropriated to salesmanship. Let us say that to read the book is to see God and one's own soul as though for the first time. (F.J.S.)

A NEWMAN SYNTHESIS by Erich Przywara, S.J. \$3.50

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PAUSE TO REFLECT. When one pauses, in rare inter-ludes between the rapid succession of first nights, to observe current trends in the theatre, it is difficult to avoid the suspi-cion that the modern stage has grown too prolific for healthy cion that the modern stage has grown too prolific for healthy progress. It is a poor season, apart from the lean years of depression, that does not see at least thirty new productions. In prosperous years, when business is booming and waiters and errand-boys are playing the stock market, the number of new productions may approach a hundred. The creative energy of the stage is certainly a marvel to behold; still, one of its by-products may be less than salutary. We are kept so busy seeing new plays that we seldom have time to contemplate the theatre as an institution. We are unable

to see the forest because there are too many trees.

In professional comment and private conversation, our discussion of the theatre is practically always limited to the merits of a specific production, usually the most recent one. We exchange views on its entertainment value, the novelty of its theme or the freshness of its humor. We may even discuss the technical innovations introduced by various craftsmen. Recently, several authors have been experimenting with a narrator, using the technique to punctuate the action of a play, as a conservative dramatist would employ a drop for the same purpose, or as Sophocles would bring on his chorus. Now our talk is sprinkled with references to the narrator

and speculations on whether his presence impairs illusion.

We practically never mention how a play has broadened our vision, deepened our understanding of life or refreshed us with moments of moral elevation. Worse, we seldom complain because we so rarely receive those gifts of the spirit in the theatre. We seem to have forgotten that when the theatre fails to exalt the spirit and dispense moral edification it ceases to be a vehicle of art and becomes a mere place of amusement, sinking to the level of a rodeo or peep-show.

As a vendor of amusement, the theatre may be big business, an important field of employment and socially useful in other ways. But its only significance as a cultural institution is derived from its convenience as a home for drama. When we reflect that drama had its roots in religion, we immediately see the importance of keeping the theatre clean and wholesome, lest it contaminate the art it shelters. The techniques of drama are continually changing, but there has not been the slightest change in its principles since the Church of the Middle Ages created the mystery plays to impart the truths of the Faith to an illiterate populace. Is the art faithful to its principles? Few of us can say with assurance, for the tumult of new productions leaves too little time for con-templation of the stage as a whole.

SPECTATOR

IT'S IN THE BAG. Here is a grab-bag of fun from which a seemingly endless group of entertainers pop up, some briefly, while others keep the nonsense rolling from start to finish. Of course, this is Fred Allen's picture, and he has the major assignment of dispelling gloom, but among those others who help to chase away the blues are Jack Benny, William Bendix, Robert Benchley, Binnie Barnes, Jerry Colona, Minerva Pious, Gloria Pope and Dickie Tyler. Vic-Colona, Minerva Pious, Gloria Pope and Dickie Tyler. Victor Moore, Don Ameche and Rudy Vallee appear briefly in a riotously funny singing number. The Allen brand of humor begins with the first flashes of the film on the screen and continues for almost an hour and a half. Fred Allen is cast as a flea-circus operator who unexpectedly inherits a fortune of \$12,000,000, starts to draw against it with a lavish hand, then—much to his consternation—learns that the fortune has disappeared. Some of the comedy is built along lines that have become familiar on the radio, such as the twitting of Benny about his stinginess, and the unique dialog of Mrs. Nussbaum. Adult audiences are certain to be amused by the continuous comedy provided here, and the stars' regular radio listeners are guaranteed a field day. (United Artists)

GENTLE ANNIE. The era when outlaws terrorized the Oklahoma Territory is brought to the screen in this Western. Set in 1901, the action concerns a mother and her two sons who hold up a train to secure the money they feel they need to return to Missouri. Gentle Annie (Marjorie Main) befriends both the U. S. marshal (James Craig), who comes out to investigate the robbery, and a lonely girl (Donna Reed), who also wishes to go back South. Though the marshal finds it difficult to believe that his friends are criminals, he does his duty and they receive their deserts. Meanwhile Cupid steps in to settle things romantically for the government agent and the girl. As a Western this is just moderately satisfying, and is suggested for grown-ups. (MGM)

WITHOUT LOVE. Philip Barry's stage comedy has been adapted to the screen with some variations. Farcical from start to finish, and dotted with some highly hilarious situstart to finish, and dotted with some highly hilarious situations, this is the story of an inventor and a widow who agree on a marriage of convenience, only to find themselves head over heels in love before the fade-out. Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn are splendidly cast as the unpredictable pair. As entertainment this is complete escapist fare and moderately diverting, but objection must be made because of double-meaning dialog. (MGM)

MARY SHERIDAN

# PARADE

FOR the benefit of all those who are sincerely desirous of FOR the benefit of all those who are sincerely desirous of avoiding the blight of divorce, the suggestions given below may prove helpful. These suggestions are based on actual cases recently heard in divorce courts. . . . The following Dont's are for husbands. . . Don't tell your wife that the only reason you married her was to have your income-tax reduced. (A Spokane husband erred in this fashion, and when his wife shot a divorce action at him he pleaded with her to wait for at least a year so he could get another exemption.) . . . Don't tell your wife, while commenting on her her to wait for at least a year so he could get another exemption.) . . . Don't tell your wife, while commenting on her new hat, that only a half-wit would wear headgear like that. (A Missouri man analyzed the millinery situation in this way and later wished he hadn't.) . . . The following Dont's are for wives. . . Don't serve your husband hamburger while you eat calf's liver and sirloin. (A Michigan woman formed this habit and then lost her meal-ticket.) . . While driving with your husband, don't make him stop the car so that you can get out and practise your rhumba lessons on deserted highways. (A Wisconsin woman rhumbaed herself out of a husband in this manner.) . . Don't make your husband wait for his meals while you are feeding a pet cat. (An Indiana lady after doing this for a time had only the cat left.)

One hundred, indeed, even fifty years ago, people were not

being divorced over hats and cats and dancing and what not. ... Why, then, is this phenomen appearing now? ... Because, human nature being what it is, if divorce is permitted for even the gravest reason it will eventually be allowed for any old reason or no reason at all. . . Speaking recently at a luncheon in Reno, a divorce lawyer said: "Married couples' quarrels are nearly always foolish and yet these foolish quarrels are nearly always foolish and yet these foolish quarrels often lead to divorce. An unemployed husband shis wife were arrested for disturbing the peace. The husband said it was the worst squabble they ever had and that they had agreed to separate. Asked by the magistrate the subject of the dispute, he replied: 'How we'd invest our money if we ever got any.'"

Recent records revealed that the city of Cleveland was grinding out divorces on an assembly-line basis—an average of one nearly every two hours. There were 2,400 divorces in the first six months of 1944. . . . The situation is pretty much the same all over the nation. . . If a deadly disease were spreading everywhere and there were only one way to prevent it, that way would be taken. . . Divorce is a deadly disease, and there is only one way to stop it. . . That way is—divorce must not be allowed for any reason whatever. That's the Number-One Don't—Don't even think you can get one.

John A. Toomey ing out divorces on an assembly-line basis—an average of

### CORRESPONDENCE

### RED CROSS APPEAL FOR NURSES

EDITOR: The Nurse Recruitment Committee of the American Red Cross feels that an appeal to the general public through the churches of this city would contribute vitally to the recruitment of registered professional nurses for our Armed Forces. Below is a statement from the Committee for your information. We earnestly hope you will find it possible to carry it in your publication.

This appeal is addressed to congregation members who employ Private-Duty nurses.

American casualties are being returned at the rate of over 30,000 a month, to military hospitals here. This means an average of over 1,000 a day. There are 200,000 hospitalized here and overseas. They must have enough nurses to care for them. The Army needs 16,000 more nurses immediately. A draft of nurses may come into effect, but at best this will take months to show results.

Recruitment must continue if our wounded are to be adequately nursed. Hospitals have released their nurses by the hundreds to join the Army and Navy Nurse Corps. The War Manpower Commission states that "Private-duty nurses represent the largest pool of nurses now available for military service. . . . To release those for military service will require the cooperation of the for military service will require the cooperation of the hospitals, the physicians, and the public." The Commission urges that private-duty nurses be reserved for acute cases only.

Your part in the recruitment program is to put our soldiers' needs above your own personal comfort. Employ a professional nurse only in critical illness

MRS. JOSE M. FERRER, Nurse Recruitment Committee New York, N. Y.

### COMMUNISTS AND MANPOWER BILL

EDITOR: A few minutes before the House passed the so-called compromise manpower bill on March 27 (it was later called compromise manpower bill on March 27 (it was later killed by the Senate), Representative Hook of Michigan read a closely reasoned criticism of the proposed legislation by the CIO director of legislation, Nathan E. Cowan. Mr. Hook announced also that Philip Murray, CIO President, was strongly opposed to the bill. Among those voting for the bill—which had the blessing of the Communist Political Association—were Representatives De Lacey of Washington, and Marcantonio of New York. These gentlemen, who were supported by the CIO's Political Action Committee during the last campaign, likewise voted for the original during the last campaign, likewise voted for the original May-Bailey "Work or Jail" bill, likewise backed by the Communists. Since some of your CIO readers may be interested in this instructive incident, and since they will not learn of it from the CIO News, I thought perhaps you might find space for it in your columns.

New York, N. Y.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

### "JESUS, NOT CAESAR"

EDITOR: Your editorials, To Our Delegates and Maintaining Principles (AMERICA, March 10 and 24), formulating recommendations to the San Francisco Conference, are welommendations to the San Francisco Conterence, are welcomed as part of a noble effort by those Americans—without religious distinction—who wish to find the answer to lasting peace. As early as October, 1943, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic religious leaders agreed on postulates on which a just peace must be based and, as the first and most important requirement, named "subjection of the International Society to the Sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God." from God."

It would be advisable in this connection to recall the pre-amble to the Pact of the Holy Alliance of September 26, 1815, concluded among the victorious Big Three initiating the new era after the Napoleonic wars, the bloodiest known up to

that time. It reads:

The sovereigns regard their power as merely delegated, the true Sovereign being He to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science and infinite wisdom, that is to say, Our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, Word of

This pact, which laid the foundation of the new world order, gave us nearly one hundred years of peace—interrupted by only minor wars and internal revolutions—which helped to promote and adjust the tremendous technological progress achieved during the nineteenth century. The social and economic evolution resulting from this long era of peace stands unique in world history, and complete unification of mankind on democratic principles would have been possible if a further fifty years of peace had been added.

Speaking as one of 300 million Europeans who, under

present conditions, have no possibility of expressing freely their opinions and have no voice in consideration of the policies which are to rule the world after this war, I firmly believe that the majority of them, because of the experiences of the last thirty years and especially as a result of their sufferings in this war, have found that physical power is an insufficient basis for lasting peace, and that only spiritual power, embodying the moral law, will save humanity.

"Jesus, not Caesar"—in the words of one great European statesman, who was not a Catholic—must be the guiding spirit at San Francisco, if we do not wish complete collapse of Western civilization.

of Western civilization.

Chevy Chase, Md.

OTOKAR KABELAC

### "FREE GERMANY" COMMITTEE

EDITOR: Allow me to correct an error which crept into my article Stalin and Postwar Germany (AMERICA, March 24, 1945). Pointing out that the "Free Germany Committee" in Moscow had survived Yalta in full bloom and vigor, I intended to add that it had not even ceased broadcasting to Germany. My readers may have inferred just the opposite.

As a matter of fact, that Committee has even intensified its activities, including broadcasting, and the Russian de-nials referred, as usual, to allegations which had not been made—in this case to the assertion that Field Marshal von Paulus was destined to head a Russian-sponsored German Government. Paulus is not even the chairman of that group, and the history of the Lublin Committee has shown that the larva and the nymph have more modest names than the butterfly.

New York, N. Y.

KLAUS DOHRN

#### BOUQUET,

EDITOR: I cannot resist interrupting you for a moment to tell you how particularly fine your March 17 issue was. May we look forward to other articles from the gifted pen of A. J. Reilly, indeed "a scholar imbued with the ancient traditions"? Why not an interpretation of Saint Columcille of Derry, "The Dove of the Church," for the June 9 issue?

I never destroy my copies of AMERICA, but keep them in constant circulation among friends who, I hope, will eventually become subscribers.

tually become subscribers.

Manitowoc, Wis.

AGNESE DUNNE

### BRICKBAT

EDITOR: I object very seriously to your presumption in dealing with economic subjects—that you are giving the Catholic slant. Your economic giews are usually those of all armchair economists and sociologists—utterly without first-hand knowledge of the real facts of life. However, I realize your disadvantage and accept your liews for what they are worth.

Wallace Idaho Wallace, Idaho DONALD A. CALLAHAN

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### THE WORD

BEING a follower of Christ is not the easiest thing in the world, but it should be the most secure and, because so very secure, a very joyful thing. "Shout with joy to the Lord... sing ye a psalm to His name," the Introit of the Third Sunday after Easter bids us. Why? "Because your sorrow shall be turned into joy... and your joy no man shall take from you" (John 16: 16-22). We are a joyful people because we know exactly where we are heading. We know the path to happiness outlined in the ten Commandments and in the laws of Christ and His Church. We know that we have only to follow the road already traced by Christ.

laws of Christ and His Church. We know that we have only to follow the road already traced by Christ.

If the road leads through suffering and hardships, through more than a little ridicule and mockery, we expect that, because His road did, too; and we keep on going, eyes front, hearts cheerful, because we know that His road and only His road leads to eternal joy. That is our joy, the security, the assurance, the absolute trust in the goodness and wisdom of Christ, a joy that no man, no event, no thing can take from us. Only we ourselves can empty our hearts of joy, and we do that when we turn from Christ and put our own wisdom or the wisdom of the world above His.

It is such a wonderfully satisfying thing, this assurance.

It is such a wonderfully satisfying thing, this assurance, this security that we are in the right, that we cannot expect to achieve it or to cling to it easily. This very self-assurances of the Church is one of the things that brings hatred upon her. People resent what they call her smugness, her intolerance, her unwillingness to admit that they who disagree with her unwillingness to admit that they who disagree with her on fundamentals may possibly be right. Our own sense of assurance irritates those who have not the same assurance and resent ours. It is no new thing. The attack has been going on for a long time now. "You shall lament and weep," Christ told His Apostles, "but the world shall rejoice." Saint Peter in today's Epistle undertakes to tell the early Christians how to act towards neighbors who considered them "evil-doers."

Against the assurance of Christ in us, the enemies of Against the assurance of Christ in us, the enemies of Christ throw up a pseudo-assurance that is no more than a blend of smartness and resentment. It is strange how often those who are following a wrong way can make their way the smart way, the popular way. In schools and offices and factories those who delight to indulge in a type of conversation that is degrading to the human being take on the air of being the smart ones, the wise ones. They so often succeed in taking away at least the surface assurance of those who want no part in such conversation. The goang heaps ridicule in taking away at least the surface assurance of those who want no part in such conversation. The gossip heaps ridicule on those who respect the reputations of others. The vengeful laugh at the forgiving. Writers and reviewers and showmen who pander to the lowest of human instincts have a smart, smug way of making those who still uphold decency in art and literature and life feel silly, out of date, prudish. Slogans, smears, clichés, infallible pronouncements that were proved false ages ago, shallow but smart questionings; all says part false ages ago, shallow but smart questionings: all are part of the attack, old as Christianity, on the assurance of the Church and the followers of Christ.

Human respect and the desire to be one of the crowd is so strong within us, and our knowledge of the reasons of our Faith so slight that it is not an easy thing to resist the our Faith so slight that it is not an easy thing to resist the attacks of this pseudo-assurance of the world. Many a time we become unsure of ourselves in one detail or another and give way. Sometimes we feel the whole world is against us, and we fall into the pessimistic conviction that the fight for what is right is a hopeless thing. Sometimes (and this is equally a betrayal of our assurance) we grow bitter and resentful of the attackers, and we harm the cause of Christ by replying in kind. We forget that one basic difference between our assurance and the pseudo-assurance of His enemies is this: the assurance of Christ is a calm thing, bringing with it kindliness and love for those who difference most violently with us; the pseudo-assurance of His enemies is accompanied by resentment, hatred and violent attack on Christ, Christ's Church and Christ's principles.

One of the fruits of our Easter season is a strengthening

One of the fruits of our Easter season is a strengthening of our clinging to Christ and all that Christ taught, an uncompromising, yet gentle obedience to Him Who is our assurance. As to our enemies, we take the advice of Saint Peter—"that by doing good you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."

JOHN P. DELANEY

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